Text of Khrushchev Speech on Stalin Crimes

Despot's Aide Claims "Fear" Kept Him Silent

Following is the text of the speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, delivered at a secret session of the party's 20th Congress in Moscow, Feb. 24 and 25, 1956, as it appeared in the June 5 issue of the N. Y. Times. The text is accepted as authentic by the world press and by the Stalinist Daily Worker. Previous reports indicate that the published version has been in the hands of Communist Party leaders throughout the world for a number of weeks but not until it was released by the American State Department did the Stalinists announce their intention of publishing it.

Comrades! In the report of the Central Committee of the party at the twentieth congress, in a number of speeches by delegates to the congress, as also formerly during the plenary CC/CPSU [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] sessions, quite a lot has been said about the cult of the individual and about its harmful consequences.

After Stalin's death the Central Committee of the party began to implement a policy of explaining concisely and consistently that it is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernatural characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behavior.

Such a belief about a man, and specifically about Stalin, was cultivated among us for many years.

The objective of the present report is not a thorough evaluation of Stalin's life and activity. Concerning Stalin's merits an entirely sufficient number of books, pamphlets and studies had already been written in his lifetime. The role of Stalin in the preparation and execution of the Socialist revolution, in the civil war, and in the fight for the construction of socialism in our country is universally known. Everyone knows this well.

At the present we are concerned with a question which has immense importance for the party now and for the future — [we are concerned] with how the cult of the person of Stalin has been gradually growing, the cult which became at a certain specific stage the source of a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of party principles, of party democracy, of revolutionary legality.

HARM OF CULT NOTED

Because of the fact that not all as yet realize fully the practical consequences resulting from the cult of the individual, the great harm caused by the violation of the principle of collective direction of the party and because of the accumulation of immense and limitless power in the hands of one person, the Central Committee of the party considers it absolutely necessary to make the material pertaining to this matter available to the twentieth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

Allow me first of all to remind you how severely the classics of Marxism-Leninism denounced every manifestation of the cult of the individual. In a letter to the German political worker, Wilhelm Bloss, Marx stated:

Because of my antipathy to any cult of the individual, I never made public during the existence of the [First] International the numerous addresses from various countries which recognized my merits and which annoyed me. I did not even reply to them, except sometimes to rebuke their authors.

Engels and I first joined the secret society of Communists on the condition that everything making for superstitious worship of authority would be deleted from its statute. Lassalle [Ferdinand Lassalle, German Socialist] subsequently did quite the opposite."

Sometime later Engels wrote:

Both Marx and I have always been against any public manifestation with regard to individuals, with the exception of cases when it had an important purpose; and we most strongly opposed such manifestations which during our lifetime concerned us personally.

The great modesty of the genius of the revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, is known. Lenin had always stressed the role of the people as the creator of history, the directing and organizational role of the party as a living and creative organism, and also the

(Continued on page 3)

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Moscow Trials Frame-Ups, Kremlin Leader Now Admits

Soviet Article Hits Stalin's Role in 1917

By Daniel Roberts

On May 30, the Soviet magazine, Questions of History, revealed that Stalin had stood in fundamental opposition to Lenin in March-April 1917. The magazine revealed the long-suppressed account of how Stalin in the period immediately following the Czar's overthrow supported the Provisional Government headed by Miliukov and other capitalist politicians. Lenin's course at that time — as set forth first in letters to Pravda from Switzerland, then presented at the Bolshevik conference in early April — was to give no support whatever to the capitalist government but to win the masses for the creation of a workers' government.

From the time of Stalin's rise to power, histories of the March 1917 period have been written and rewritten with the object of concealing Stalin's actual role and in order to make it appear that Stalin, on his own, was pursuing the same course as Lenin. On the way, historians were shot; memoirs suppressed, with their authors either jailed, shot or forced to rewrite their works; and the minutes of the Bolshevik conference of March-April 1917 put under lock and key.

The entire political biography of Stalin as published at his command is one giant fabrication. The most recent issue of Questions of History contains another article which debunks cherished claims made by Stalin to leadership in heroic struggles conducted by the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus in 1905. Conscientious biographers of Stalin — including Leon Trotsky — have already explained that Stalin simply appropriated credit for deeds performed by others.

TRUE PICTURE EMERGES

The revelation about Stalin's role in 1917, however, smashes even the posthumous portrait of Stalin as the peerless revolutionary — who persevered as a Leninist until he succumbed to the "cult of the individual." This portrait is retained in the Khrushchev speech made at the closed session of the 20th Congress.

With the Questions of History article, the world Stalinist movement is being given for the first time by their leaders something approaching the true political complexion of Stalin.

Upon Stalin and Kamenev's return from Siberian exile in late March 1917, they decisively rejected any notion that the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (the Soviets) created by the revolutionary masses after the overthrow of the Czar, should take political power. A Soviet government was the program advanced by the worker sections of the Bolshevik Party in the factory district of Vyborg. It was also Lenin's program.

Stalin and Kamenev deemed too revolutionary even the policies of Molotov, Shlyapnikov and Zalutsky, who led the party up to the time of their return. And this trio was a long way from advocating power for the Soviets. Displacing Molotov from the editorship of the party paper, Pravda, Stalin and Kamenev gave open support to the capitalist government.

STALIN'S EVALUATION

At the party conference April 4-6, Stalin formulated the tasks of the working class in the revolution entirely along the line of Menshevism. "The power has been divided between two organs of which neither one possesses full power," he said. ". . . The Soviet is the revolutionary leader of the

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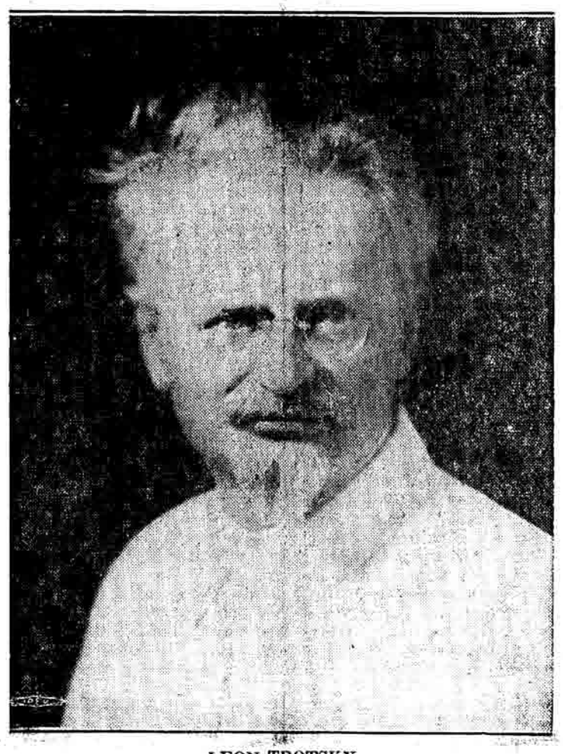

LEON TROTSKY

STALIN

"Stalin will depart from the scene laden with all the crimes which he has committed — not only as the gravedigger of the Revolution but as the most sinister figure in the history of mankind." — Leon Trotsky, Oct. 16, 1937.

'Confessions' Extorted By Horrible Physical And Mental Tortures

By George Lavan

The now-revealed text of Nikita S. Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exposes Stalin's regime as the most brutal in all history and, at the same time, serves to undermine the rule of Khrushchev and the other leaders of the Kremlin bureaucracy who succeeded Stalin.

Well over half of the six-hour speech deals with the terror and frame-up system Stalin used to destroy first the Trotskyists and then all other opposition in what had once been the democratically-run party of Lenin.

To those, who for the past 20 years have defended the Moscow Trials with the argument, "They confessed their guilt, didn't they?" and to the puzzled, who wondered aloud, "Why did they confess?" Khrushchev at last and officially gave the true answer. "Confessions of guilt," he admitted, "were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures."

TROTSKY VINDICATED

Thus the greatest frame-up trials in all history stand repudiated as lies from beginning to end. Khrushchev's speech vindicates completely Trotsky's denunciations of the Moscow Trials. Also verified is the "Not Guilty" verdict returned by the famous Commission of Inquiry, headed by philosopher John Dewey, which sat in Mexico City as a court to hear evidence produced by Trotsky disproving the monstrous accusations in Moscow.

Khrushchev cited numerous specific cases of purge victims repudiating their confessions and writing to Stalin describing how these confessions had been extracted from them. All to no avail. They were shot.

In 1939 when the purge began to slacken somewhat, Stalin sent telegrams to all sections of the Communist Party down to low echelon unit leaders justifying and urging the use of physical torture on those under arrest.

Also cited is Stalin's threat to the head of the secret police during the preparation of the "Doctors' plot" frame-up: "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head." Then, "Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple — beat, beat, and, once again, beat!"

LENIN'S TESTAMENT

Among the important revelations contained in Khrushchev's speech are quotations from Lenin's suppressed testament, a letter of Lenin's wife to Kamenev, and a letter of Lenin to Stalin — all showing Lenin's deathbed struggle against the ruthless bureaucrat who was to usurp the leadership of the Communist Party and turn it from a revolutionary instrument of the working class into its opposite — a

(Continued on page 2)

Trotskyism Vindicated!

An Editorial

In his speech to the closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (see full available text in this issue) Nikita S. Khrushchev admits nothing less than the following:

(1) The Stalin regime was guilty of the mass murder of the whole generation of revolutionists who participated in the October 1917 revolution as comrades and co-workers of Lenin.

(2) It systematically perpetrated frame-ups, tortures, the extraction of false confessions and summary executions against countless thousands of innocent victims.

(3) It destroyed every vestige of workers' democracy; it destroyed all legal safeguards and replaced revolutionary law with the uncontrolled rule of the Secret Political Police under the direct supervision of Stalin.

(4) The Moscow Trials of the Thirties, beginning with the trials following the assassination of Kirov in 1934, were staged by Stalin's police machine and were judicial frauds from beginning to end.

(5) The charge that the Trotskyists were spies, wreckers and terrorists were sheer fabrications.

(6) In the test of World War II the regime of Stalin brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster and resulted in the needless slaughter of hundreds of thousands if not millions.

(7) Whole nations of minority peoples within the Soviet Union, who had won their national freedom through the October revolution, were either uprooted and transported to remote regions or utterly destroyed.

(8) It criminally ignored the severe crisis in agriculture and intervened only to lay new and unjust taxes on the working people who were already suffering great hardships.

(9) It nurtured a Stalin cult, devoting enormous efforts to build the myth of his genius and infallibility. It established a system of compulsory flattery, adulation and fantastic glorification.

(10) It systematically falsified history to suit the needs of the omnipotent dictator in his struggle against his political opponents and to further his own deification.

(11) It brought the relations of the Soviet Union with other workers' states to disaster by treating these states as inferiors and trying to impose Stalin's brutal rule upon them.

To millions of revolutionary workers throughout the world, who have been cruelly deceived and misled by the Stalinist bureaucrats, one conclusion will insistently make its way: All these abominable crimes against the revolution, admitted by Khrushchev, each and every one of them, were exposed, analyzed and fought by Leon Trotsky and the world Trotskyist movement from the moment they made their appearance.

The disoriented, shocked and bewildered revolutionary workers in the Communist parties, will no longer accept the word of the bureaucrats as to what Trotskyism means; they will discover the great treasure of Marxist theory and politics that is to be found in the historic record of the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinist reaction.

Khrushchev says that Stalin was politically right as against Trotsky. He also says that Stalin was dedicated to the interests of the working class and the revolution. But the Communist workers will hardly take Khrushchev's word for that. They will insist on probing the question of Stalinism to the very bottom.

The Communist workers in the factories will ask the question that Khrushchev studiously avoided in his entire six-hour speech: what was the class essence, the social roots of the Stalin cult? What social force did it serve? They will ask the same question about Trotskyism: What class interests does Trotskyism represent, and how has it served these interests?

Despite all his prattle about Leninism, Khrushchev treats the question of the cult of the individual (the Stalinist murder machine) without applying the ABCs of Leninism, namely, that politics is the concentrated expression of the interests of economic classes and groups.

The secret of Khrushchev's inability to provide a plausible explanation, as well as the reason for his reiterated declaration that in the fight against Trotskyism Stalin was politically right, lies in the fact that Khrushchev defends the same social

(Continued on page 7)

Myra Weiss on Tour Explains Soviet Events

SAN FRANCISCO, May 29 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, spoke to an overflow crowd of workers at party headquarters on "A New Stage in the Russian Revolution; It's Significance for American Labor."

Comrade Weiss took as her theme talk the recent revelations made at the 20th congress of the Russian Communist Party. "When Bulganin and Khrushchev started to reveal the crimes of Stalin they in reality only revealed what the Russian workers already knew," she said.

"What they still have to reveal," she added, "are the worst crimes, the crimes they shared in partnership with Stalin and those which they will have to commit on the morrow if they are to retain their power — that crime is the beheading of revolutions that would rid the world of capitalism."

In addition to her speech at SWP headquarters she talked to many militant workers and youth. A large number of students listened to her at Sather Gate on the University of California campus. They were very interested in the Trotskyist analysis of current events in the Soviet Union. Many showed their appreciation by thanking Comrade Weiss after the meeting for "taking time out of a busy campaign schedule to come and talk to us."

On a radio interveiw at Station KPFA Comrade Weiss dealt with the economic differences between the Soviet Union and the United States and the future of U.S. economy.

Comrade Weiss was given time to tell a Negro church gathering about the Montgomery, Alabama, situation and the SWP solution for the problems confronting the Negro people.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

At a press conference Comrade Weiss scored the bi-partisan foreign policy of the two major parties and called for the formation of a labor party.

On Friday, June 15, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Myra Weiss, will speak at the Detroit Friday Night Socialist Forum. The meeting will be held at 3737 Woodward Ave., 2nd floor, at 8 p.m. Her subject will be: The New Events in the Soviet Union and Their Significance for the American Workers.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

"The Khrushchev Revelations"

LOS ANGELES

James P. Cannon

FOUNDER, AMERICAN TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Friday, June 15 — 8:15 P. M.

Channing Hall

2936 West 8th Street

"The Khrushchev Revelations"

NEW YORK

Murry Weiss

EDITOR, THE MILITANT

Friday, June 15 — 8:30 P. M.

Adelphi Hall

74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.)

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Questions and Discussion

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS VII

The Whys and Wherefores of the Trials

[We publish herewith the concluding installment of Leon Trotsky's speech at the hearing of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937, at Coyoacan, Mexico. The final installment consists of Section XXI, entitled: "Why and Wherefore These Trials?"

The full text is available in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by Prof. John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher of American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist movement in the U.S. Otto Ruehle, who stood side-by-side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." A complete transcript of the hearings and the report of the Commission were published in two volumes: "The Case of Leon Trotsky and "Not Guilty."]

By Leon Trotsky

Frame-Ups Not Produtc of Individual

An American writer complained to me in a conversation: "It is difficult for me to believe," he said, "that you entered into an alliance with fascism; but it is equally difficult for me to believe that Stalin carried out such horrible frame-ups." I can only pity the author of this remark. It is, in fact, difficult to find a solution if one approaches the question exclusively from an individual psychological and not political viewpoint.

I do not wish to deny by this the importance of the individual element in history. Neither Stalin nor I find ourselves in our present positions by accident. But we did not create these positions. Each of us is drawn into this drama as the representative of definite ideas and principles.

In their turn, the ideas and principles do not fall from the sky, but have profound social roots. That is why one must take, not the psychological abstraction of Stalin as a "man," but his concrete, historical personality as leader of the Soviet bureaucracy. One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its positions, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition.

The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn — which laid bare all social falsehood — to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the Thermidorian lies.

It is, consequently, a question not simply of the individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity.

In the struggle for its newly gained positions, this caste has reeducated itself and simultaneously reeducated — or rather, demoralized — its leaders. It raised upon its shoulders the man who best, most resolutely and most ruthlessly expresses its interests. Thus Stalin, who was once a revolutionist, became the leader of the Thermidorian caste.

The formulas of Marxism, expressing the interests of the masses, more and more inconvenienced the bureaucracy, in so far as they were inevitably directed against its interests. From the time that I entered into opposition to the bureaucracy, its courtier-theoreticians began to call the revolutionary essence of Marxism — "Trotskyism." At the same time, the official conception of Leninism changed from year to year, becoming more and more adapted to the needs of the ruling caste. Books devoted to Party history, to the October Revolution, or to the theory of Leninism, were revised anpually.

I have adduced an example from the literary activity of Stalin himself. In 1918 he wrote that the victory of the October insurrection was "principally and above all" assured by Trotsky's leadership. In 1924 Stalin wrote that Trotsky could not have played any special role in the October Revolution. To this tune the whole historiography was adjusted.

This signifies in practice that hundreds of young scholars and thousands of journalists were systematically trained in the spirit of falsification. Whoever resisted was stifled. This applies in a still greater measure to the propagandists, functionaries, judges, not to speak of the examining magistrates of the GPU.

The incessant Party purges were directed above all toward the uprooting of "Trotskyism," and during these purges not only discontented workers were called "Trotskyites," but also all writers who honestly presented historical facts or citations which contradicted the latest official standardization. Novelists and artists were suject to the same regime. The spiritual atmosphere of the country became completely impregnated with the poison of conventionalities, lies and direct frame-ups.

LEON SEDOV

Began with Theoretical Falsifications

All the possibilities along this road were soon exhausted. The theoretical and historical falsifications no longer attained their aims — people grew too accustomed to them. It was necessary to give to bureaucratic repression a more massive foundation. To bolster up the literary falsifications, accusations of a criminal character were brought in.

My exile from the USSR was officially motivated by the allegation that I had prepared an "armed insurrection." However, the accusation, launched against me was not even published in the press. Today it may seem incredible, but already in 1929 we were confronted with accusations against the Trotskyites of "sabotage," "espionage," "preparation of railroad wrecks," etc., in the Soviet press. However there was not a single trial involving these accusations.

The matter was limited to a literary calumny which represented, nevertheless, the first link in the preparation of the future judicial frame-ups. To justify the repressions, it was necessary to have framed accusations. To give weight to the false accusations, it was necessary to reinforce them with more brutal repressions. Thus the logic of the struggle drove Stalin along the road of gigantic judicial amalgams.

They also became necessary for him for international reasons. If the Soviet bureaucracy does not want revolutions and fears them, it cannot, at the same time, openly renounce the revolutionary traditions without definitely undermining its prestige within the USSR. However, the obvious bankruptcy of the Comintern opens the way for a new International.

Why the Kremlin Fears Trotskyism

Since 1933, the idea of new revolutionary parties under the banner of the Fourth International has met with great success in the Old and New Worlds. Only with difficulty can an outside observer appreciate the real dimensions of this success. It cannot be measured by membership statistics alone. The general tendency of development is of much greater importance.

Deep, internal fissures are spreading throughout all the sections of the Comintern, which at the first historic shock will result in splits and debacles. If Stalin fears the little **Bulletin of the Opposition** and punishes its introduction into the USSR with death, it is not difficult to understand what fright seizes the bureaucracy at the possibility that news of the self-sacrificing work of the Fourth International in the service of the working class many penetrate into the USSR.

The moral authority of the leaders of the bureaucracy and, above all, of Stalin, rests in large measure upon the Tower of Babel of slanders and falsifications erected over a period of thirteen years. The moral authority of the Comintern rests entirely and exclusively on the moral authority of the Soviet bureaucracy. In its turn, the authority of the Comintern as well as its support, is necessary for Stalin before the Russian workers.

This Tower of Babel, which frightens its own builders, is maintained inside the USSR with the aid of more and more terrible repressions, and outside the USSR with the aid of a gigantic apparatus which, through resources drawn from the labor of the Soviet workers and peasants, poisons world public opinion with the virus of lies, falsifications and blackmail. Millions of people throughout the world identify the October Revolution with the Thermidorian bureaucracy, the Soviet Union with Stalin's clique, the revolutionary workers with the utterly demoralized Comintern apparatus.

The first great breach in this Tower of Babel will necessarily cause it to collapse entirely, and bury beneath its debris the authority of the Thermidorian chiefs. That is why it is for Stalin a life-and-death question to kill the Fourth International while it is still in embryo!

Now, as we are here examining the Moscow trials, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, according to information in the press, is sitting in Moscow. Its agenda is: **The struggle against world Trotskyism.** The session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is not only a link in the long chain of the Moscow frame-ups, but also the projection of the latter on the world arena. Tomorrow we shall hear about new misdeeds of the Trotskyites in Spain, of their direct or indirect support of the fascists. Echoes of this base calumny, indeed, have already been heard in this room.

Tomorrow we shall hear how the Trotskyites in the United States are preparing railroad wrecks and the obstruction of the Panama Canal, in the interests of Japan. We shall learn the day after tomorrow how the Trotskyites in Mexico are preparing measures for the restoration of Porfirio Diaz. You say Diaz died a long time ago? The Moscow creators of amalgams do not stop before such trifles. They stop before nothing — nothing at all.

Politically and morally, it is a question of life and death for them. Emissaries of the GPU are prowling in all countries of the Old and the New World. They do not lack money. What does it mean to the ruling clique to spend twenty or fifty millions of dollars more or less, to sustain its authority and its power? These gentlemen buy human consciences like sacks of potatoes. We shall see this in many instances.

Fortunately, not everybody can be bought. Otherwise humanity would have rotted away a long time ago. Here, in the person of the Commission, we have a precious cell of unmarketable public conscience. All those who thirst for purification of the social atmosphere will turn instinctively toward the Commission. In spite of intrigues, bribes and calumny, it will be rapidly protected by the armor of the sympathy of broad, popular masses.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Commission! Already for five years — I repeat, five years! — I have incessantly demanded the creation of an international commission of inquiry. The day I received the telegram about the creation of your sub-commission was a great holiday in my life. Some friends anxiously asked me: Will not the Stalinists penetrate into the Commission, as they at first penetrated into the Committee for the Defense of Trotsky?

I answered: Dragged into the light of day, the Stalinists are not fearsome. On the contrary, I will welcome the most venemous questions from the Stalinists; to break them down I have only to tell what actually happened. The world press will give the necessary publicity to my replies. I knew in advance that the GPU would bribe individual journalists and whole newspapers. But I did not doubt for one moment that the conscience of the world cannot be bribed and that it will score, in this case as well, one of its most splendid victories.

Trotsky's Faith in Future Unshaken

Esteemed Commissioners! The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an industructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev — this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent.

In the very fact of your Commission's formation — in the fact that, at its head, is a man of unshakable moral authority, a man who by virtue of his age should have the right to remain outside of the skirmishes in the political arena — in this fact I see a new and truly magnificent reinforcement of the revolutionary optimism which constitutes the fundamental element of my life.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Commission! Mr. Attorney Finerty! and you, my defender and friend, Goldman! Allow me to express to all of you my warm gratitude, which in this case does not bear a personal character. And allow me, in conclusion, to express my profound respect to the educator, philosopher and personification of genuine American idealism, the scholar who heads the work of your Commission. (Applause)

... Admits Moscow Trials Were Frame-Ups

(Continued from page 1)

counter-revolutionary instrument of the bureaucracy against the working class.

These documents have long been cited by the Trotskyists as part of the evidence that, far from representing Lenin's program and continuing his work, Stalin was under bitter political and personal attack from Lenin, who was prevented only by death from waging an all-out campaign for his removal. For decades these documents have been called Trotskyist fabrications by Stalinists in all countries. Now the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union quotes them in his speech.

Khrushchev gives almost incredible examples of the brutality, cowardice, thirst for adulation, ignorance and stupidity of Stalin. He tells how Stalin caused military and agricultural catastrophes. He tries to give the impression to the audience that he and his present partners opposed Stalin's bloody and disastrous policies. For example, he recounts how Stalin's meddling in the battle of Kharkov cost the Red Army hundreds of thousands of casualties.

"WE" AND "I"

"We," he says, had decided on a correct plan, "we" communicated to Stalin. Stalin rejected it, "I" telephoned and begged the highest military commander in Moscow to get Stalin to look at a map. No success. Then "I" telephoned Stalin but he would not speak to me but put Malenkov on the phone. "I" again asked to speak to Stalin. Stalin refused. "I" explained the disaster facing the army at Kharkov through Malenkov to Stalin. Stalin insisted on the disastrous plan.

But the outcome of such "opposition" is the same as all the other hinted-at opposition of Khrushchev. "We" and "I" follow Stalin's orders. "And what was the result (at Kharkov) of this?" asks Khrushchev. "We lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers."

It is noteworthy that, try as he may, stretch the truth as he undoubtedly does, to make out the best case for himself and his partners, Khrushchev cannot adduce a single instance of opposition to one of Stalin's acts. The most he produces are a few alleged cases where he now says he urged — but gingerly — a modification of Stalin's plans. He cannot adduce a single instance where he tried to build an opposition to Stalin's regime of bloody tyranny, economic and military disasters.

It should be noted also that while Khrushchev tries to portray himself as having silently disagreed with Stalin's "excesses," his speech compromises most of the other leading figures in the bureaucracy as being in the closest relations with Stalin.

Were these others to make similar speeches, it could well be turnabout. They could paint themselves up as secretly deploring Stalin's misrule and show Khrushchev and his coterie in the closest relations with Stalin, implementing the bloodshed, cultism and disastrous program.

For the indisputable fact is that the present "collective leadership" is (minus Beria, who was shot by them as "an agent of foreign intelligence service") no less than a coalition of the most successful, surviving favorites of Stalin.

Some of them were cronies of Stalin from the first days when he started intriguing and building a personal machine in the post-Revolution party of Lenin and Trotsky. Most of them earned their spurs and privileges in the campaign against the ideals and program of the Revolution which culminated with the expulsion of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. To rise to the very top of the bureaucracy they had to carry out with distinction Stalin's dirty program of beating down the Soviet workers, falsifying history, preparing and praising the purge and outdoing rivals in building the Stalin cult.

Men of this caliber are no oppositionists. They bear no resemblance to the Bolsheviks who opposed tyrannical regimes, went to prison for their opposition and often gave their lives. Khrushchev and the others undoubtedly feared for their skins and their privileges because of Stalin's habit of purging even his most faithful tools. But fearful and hoping, they tried to assure their safety and position by outdoing themselves in serving Stalin.

WHERE WAS KHRUSHCHEV?

This is why the Khrushchev speech, compelled by the new regime's need to disassociate itself in the eyes of the masses from Stalin, at the very same time undermines the rule of the new regime. The answer to the oft-asked question, "Where was Khrushchev when Stalin was doing these monstrous things?" is known to all Soviet citizens. He and the others were at Stalin's right hand. This cannot be denied. At the very most Khrushchev and Company can plead cowardice. But such a plea will not wipe out their past records nor win them the support of the Soviet workers, who hate them and the bureaucracy which they represent.

It took Khrushchev two days (Feb. 24-25) to deliver the speech. While rumors and a few details from it were allowed to circulate in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, it was kept secret. An edited version was sent to a limited section of the bureaucracy and to foreign Communist Parties. Copies were sent to Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This is believed to be the source from which the U.S. State Department obtained it. The latter released an English translation of it on June 4. The New York Times printed it in full the next day.

Its authenticity may be vouched for not only by its internal evidence but by the fact that no Soviet official or Communist Party spokesman has challenged it. The Daily Worker printed excerpts from it on June 5 and has subsequently announced that it would publish it in full. It has still not been made public in the USSR or satellite countries. The speech as printed in this issue of the Militant is the full 26,000-word text released by the State Department.

Poison from the Skies

The Japanese Welfare Ministry reported, May 24, that due to recent heavy rainfall fruit and vegetables in central districts of Japan were radioactive. The agency warned the Japanese people against eating any. The amount of radioactivity was found to be five times the amount considered safe for human consumption. Poisonous rain continues to fall on the country.

NEXT WEEK

In The Militant

"Stalinism and Bolshevism"

By Leon Trotsky

...Hits Role of Stalin in 1917

(Continued from page 1)

insurrectionary people; an organ controlling the Provisional Government. And the Provisional Government has in fact taken the role of fortifier of the conquests of the revolutionary people. . . It is not to our advantage at present to force events, hastening the process of repelling the bourgeois layers, who will in the future inevitably withdraw from us."

"The idea that it is disadvantageous to hasten the withdrawal of the bourgeoisie from the revolution, has always been the guiding principle of the whole policy of the Mensheviks," wrote Leon Trotsky in The History of the Russian Revolution commenting on Stalin's line. "In action this means blunting and weakening the movement of the masses in order not to frighten away the liberal allies."

That is how Lenin appraised Stalin's policy, for he stated he would rather split with anyone in the party than support the capitalist government and its prosecution of imperialist war. At the same time that they were backing the Provisional Government, Stalin and Kamenev dropped revolutionary opposition to the war, on the grounds that the February revolution had altered its imperialist character. Furthermore, they advocated fusion of the Bolshevik party with the Mensheviks.

It should be added that at the outbreak of the February Revolution, Trotsky — at the time a political refugee in New York — outlined the same revolutionary course for the Russian workers soldiers and peasants as Lenin. On his return to Russia in May he immediately began collaboration with the Bolsheviks on the basis of Lenin's line which had won out in the Bolshevik party over Stalin's and Kamenev's.

RECORD OF HISTORY

The records show, however, that never throughout 1917 did Stalin correct his March position fundamentally. He simply went along with the decision.

After 1923 Stalin again set policy for the Bolshevik Party The politics of Stalinism were not developments of Lenin's line. They represented a return to Stalin's own March policy. The politics of class-collaboration with the capitalist liberals and reformist "socialists" was organic to Stalin. Indeed, the very bureaucratic faction he headed from 1923 on represented the growth of a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social formation in the Soviet Union. Stalin came to head the parasitic caste precisely because his character and political make-up was alien to working class revolution.

Stalin was no longer applying his Menshevik course merely to Russia. His March line was enthroned by the Communist Parties in every country. Reviewing the March 1917 policy pursued by Stalin, Trotsky stated in his biography of Stalin, "Here ready-made for us is the formula of future Stalinist policy in China (1924-1927), in Spain (1934-1939) as well as generally in all his ill-starred 'popular fronts.'"

In the Chinese Revolution of 1924-1927, the Stalinist course was to merge the Communist Party in the Kuomintang — the party headed by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese capitalist class. The formula was the Menshevik one of not alienating the capitalists from the revolution. The result was to leave the Chinese workers unprepared for wholesale slaughter by Chiang Kai-shek, when he came to terms with imperialism.

In Spain, subordination of the independent struggle of the masses to the policy of retaining a bourgeois-democratic republic instead of building a workers' and peasants' government led to the victory of Franco.

The March line on a world scale is the policy still pursued by the Communist Parties — under Khrushchev as under Stalin. The policy of peaceful coexistence features the same subordination of the struggle of the working class to meager reforms within the capitalist status quo as Stalin proposed in March 1917. Then as now the policies of Leninism and Stalinism are diametrically opposed.

Defense of Victims is Smith Act Test

By George Lavan

In the closing hours of the recent convention in Washington, D. C., of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers a series of prepared resolutions were passed. Those on civil liberties and foreign policy reflected the somewhat freer atmosphere that prevails in this country since the decline of McCarthy and the easing-off of the cold war. This is a development noticeable in most unions.

On civil liberties the ACW convention went on record as opposing or criticizing most of the witch hunt. It called for repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act; it also declared against the current moves in Congress by the Southern Democrats and Northern witch hunters to invalidate by legislation the Supreme Court's ruling against state "sedition" laws.

Such resolutions are all to the good and are expected of the labor movement. Both the AFL and the CIO, and practically all their internationals, went on record against the Smith Act when it was introduced in Congress. After it was passed and signed by Roosevelt, their conventions passed resolutions stigmatizing it as anti-labor and anti-civil liberties.

These condemnations were periodically renewed in the civil liberties resolutions passed at succeeding conventions. So it has been with all the other features of the witch hunt: the McCarran Internal Security Act, the Humphrey-Buttler Communist Control Act, the "subversive" list, the "loyalty" purge, etc., etc.

Sometimes these resolutions were a little stronger or a little weaker. For example, in the early 1940's they were more strongly worded. At the height of the McCarthy "red" hysteria they reflected, in their more timid language, the intimidation of the union bureaucracy by McCarthyism.

While it is perfectly legitimate to examine such resolutions and note an improved tone, it is incorrect to gloss over their shortcomings and pretend that the test of a union bureaucracy's attitude toward civil liberties is in what the resolutions say in general. This is precisely what the Stalinist newspaper, the Daily Worker, (June 3) does in its eulogistic account of the recent ACW convention.

No, the proof of the pudding is in the eating! The ACW's resolution against the Smith Act remains a generality and an abstraction, basically no different from the many previous civil liberties resolutions passed by this same union in the past.

The proof is that while it resolves against the Smith Act in words, the ACW lifts not one finger, nor utters one word, to defend the victims of the Smith Act. The key test of true opposition to the Smith Act is a fight to defend those being persecuted and jailed under it.

VICTIMS NOT UNKNOWN

The victims are not unknown to the ACW leadership. They are all the first, second and even third echelon leaders of the Communist Party. While the convention was on, professional anti-Communist informers were testifying at the thought-control trial of seven CP leaders in Foley Square. A few days later the FBI arrested seven men and women in Massachusetts for another such Smith Act trial. Three of these had just been freed from indictments by the Supreme Court's ruling against the state subversive laws.

Workers in the Amalgamated and other unions who want their organizations to fight the Smith Act and all the other barbarisms of the witch hunt should not be lulled by stories praising their union leaders to the skies for mere words when these same leaders act as a roadblock to those endeavoring to rally unionists and liberals to defend the Communist Party victims of the Smith Act.

However, the Communist Party leadership and the Daily Worker writers, are not acting from ignorance. They are fully aware of the facts and of the delinquency of the ACW and other union bureaucrats in the fight to defend witch-hunt victims. They are acting from policy — the policy they call coexistence. This means trying to get back into alliance with the labor tops and the Democratic politicians, as in the days before the cold war. In their campaigning to do this they are abandoning all real opposition to the bureaucrats within the unions and all real political opposition in their press.

It is short-sighted to say that since the current victims of the Smith Act are CP members it is the privilege of the Daily Worker to settle for mere lip service against the Smith Act by the labor leaders. The Smith Act is a threat to labor and the civil liberties of all.

The Militant pointed this out in 1941 when 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters leaders were being railroaded under the same law. It also pointed out at the time that the Communist Party was betraying the working class because, while in resolutions it was on record against the Smith Act, in deeds it was sabotaging the defense of the Minneapolis victims Recently the Communist Party has admitted that its conduct during that first Smith Act prosecution was an "error."

Today the labor bureaucracy is doing almost the same thing the CP did then. It is on record in resolutions against the Smith Act, yet it abstains or opposes active defense of the victims. This too is a betrayal of labor's fight for civil liberties.

The Smith Act and all the witch-hunt laws and procedures are a threat to labor itself. Failure of the unions to fight them to the utmost — and that means defending the victims — can result in the same disaster that befell the Communist Party, which paid the price for not fighting the first prosecution by ending up the victim of subsequent prosecutions.

Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials

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Confirms Trotsky's Accusation That Stalin Organized Kirov Murder

(Continued from page 1)

role of the Central Committee.

Marxism does not negate the role of the leaders of the working class in directing the revolutionary liberation movement.

While ascribing great importance to the role of the leaders and organizers of the masses, Lenin at the same time mercilessly stigmatized every manifestation of the cult of the individual, inexorably combated the foreign-to-Marxism views about a "hero" and a "crowd" and countered all efforts to oppose a "hero" to the masses and to the people.

Lenin taught that the party's strength depends on its indissoluble unity with the masses, on the fact that behind the party follow the people — workers, peasants and intelligentsia. "Only he will win and retain the power," said Lenin, "who believes in the people, who submerges himself in the fountain of the living creativeness of the people."

Lenin spoke with pride about the Bolshevik Communist party as the leader and teacher of the people; he called for the presentation of all the most important questions before the opinion of knowledgeable workers, before the opinion of their party; he said: "We believe in it, we see in it the wisdom, the honor, and the conscience of our epoch."

Lenin resolutely stood against every attempt aimed at belittling or weakening the directing role of the party in the structure of the Soviet state. He worked out Bolshevik principles of party direction and norms of party life, stressing that the guiding principle of party leadership is its collegiality. Already during the pre-revolutionary years Lenin called the Central Committee of the party a collective of leaders and the guardian and interpreter of party principles. "During the period between congresses," pointed out Lenin, "the Central Committee guards and interprets the principles of the party."

Underlining the role of the Central Committee of the party and its authority, Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] pointed out: "Our Central Committee constituted itself as a closely centralized and highly authoritative group."

During Lenin's life the Central Committee of the party was a real expression of collective leadership of the party and of the nation. Being a militant Marxist revolutionist, always unyielding in matters of principle, Lenin never imposed by force his views upon his coworkers. He tried to convince; he patiently explained his opinions to others. Lenin always diligently observed that the norms of party life were realized, that the party statute was enforced, that the party congresses and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee took place at the proper intervals.

In addition to the great accomplishments of V. I. Lenin for the victory of the working class and of the working peasants, for the victory of our party and for the application of the ideas of scientific communism to life, his acute mind expressed itself also in this that he detected in Stalin in time those negative characteristics which resulted later in grave consequences.

STALIN CHARACTERIZED BY LENIN

Fearing the future fate of the party and of the Soviet nation, V. I. Lenin made a completely correct characterization of Stalin, pointing out that it was necessary to consider the question of transferring Stalin from the position of the Secretary General because of the fact that Stalin is excessively rude, that he does not have a proper attitude toward his comrades, that he is capricious and abuses his power.

In December, 1922, in a letter to the party congress Vladimir Ilyich wrote: "After taking over the position of Secretary General Comrade Stalin accumulated in his hands immeasurable power and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care."

This letter, a political document of tremendous importance, known in the party history as Lenin's "testament," was distributed among the delegates to the twentieth party congress. You have read it, and will undoubtedly read it again more than once. You might reflect on Lenin's plain words, in which expression is given to Vladimir Ilyich's anxiety concerning the party, the people, the state, and the future direction of party policy.

Vladimir Ilyich said: "Stalin is excessively rude, and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us Communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the Secretary General. Because of this, I propose that the comrades consider the method by which Stalin would be removed from this position and by which another man would be selected for it; a man who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater kindness and more considerate attitude toward the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc."

This document of Lenin's was made known to the delegates at the thirteenth party congress, who discussed the question of transferring Stalin from the position of Secretary General. The delegates declared themselves in favor of retaining Stalin in this post, hoping that he would heed the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich and would be able to overcome the defects which caused Lenin serious anxiety.

TWO NEW DOCUMENTS READ

Comrades! The party congress should become acquainted with two new documents, which confirm Stalin's character as already outlined by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in his "testament." These documents are a letter from Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya [Lenin's wife] to[Lev Borisovich] Kamenev, who was at that time head of the Political Bureau, and a personal letter from Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to Stalin.

I will now read these documents:

Lev Borisovich!

Because of a short letter which I had written in words dictated to me by Vladimir Ilyich by permission of the doctors, Stalin allowed himself yesterday an unusually rude outburst directed at me. This is not my first duty to the party. During all these thirty years I have never heard from any comrade one word of rudeness. The business of the party and of Ilyich are not less dear to me than to Stalin. I need at present the maximum of self-control. What one can and what one cannot discuss with Ilyich, I know better than any doctor, because I know what makes him nervous and what does not; in any case, I know better than Stalin. I am turning to you and to Gregory [S. Zinoviev] as to much closer comrades of V. I. and I beg of you to protect me from rude interference with my private life and from the invectives and threats. I have no doubt as to what will be the unanimous decision of the Control Commission, with which Stalin sees fit to threaten me; however, I have neither the strength nor the time to waste on this foolish quarrel. And I am a living person and my nerves are strained to the utmost.

N. Krupskaya

Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote this letter on Dec. 23, 1922. After two and a half months, in March, 1923, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin sent Stalin the following letter:

To Comrade Stalin:

Copies for: Kamenev and Zinoviev.

Dear Comrade Stalin!

Your permitted yourself a rude summons of my wife to the telephone and a rude reprimand of her. Despite the fact that she told you that she agreed to forget what was said, nevertheless Zinoviev and Kamenev heard about it from her. I have no intention to forget so easily that which is being done against me, and I need not stress here that I consider as directed against me that which is being done against my wife. I ask you, therefore, that you weigh carefully whether you are agreeable to retracting your words and apologizing or whether you prefer the severance of relations between us.

(Commotion in the hall)

Sincerely,

Lenin

March 5 1923

Comrades! I will not comment on these documents. They speak eloquently for themselves. Since Stalin could behave in this manner during Lenin's life, could thus behave toward Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, whom the party knows well and values highly as a loyal friend of Lenin and as an active fighter for the cause of the party since its creation, we can easily imagine how Stalin treated other people. These negative characteristics of his developed steadily and during the last years acquired an absolutely insufferable character.

STALIN'S ABUSE OF POWER

As later events have proven, Lenin's anxiety was justified: in the first period after Lenin's death Stalin still paid attention to his [Lenin's] advice, but later he began to disregard the serious admonitions of Vladimir Ilyich.

When we analyze the practice of Stalin in regard to the direction of the party and of the country, when we pause to consider everything which Stalin perpetrated, we must be convinced that Lenin's fears were justified. The negative characteristics of Stalin, which, in Lenin's time, were only incipient, transformed themselves during the last years into a grave abuse of power by Stalin, which caused untold harm to our party.

We have to consider seriously and analyze correctly this matter in order that we may preclude any possibility of a repetition in any form whatever of what took place during the life of Stalin, who absolutely did not tolerate collegiality in leadership and in work, and who practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed to his capricious and despotic character, contrary to his concepts.

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the seventeenth party congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.

We must affirm that the party had fought a serious fight against the Trotskyites, rightists and bourgeois nationalists, and that it disarmed ideologically all the enemies of Leninism. This ideological fight was carried on successfully as a result of which the party became strengthened and tempered. Here Stalin played a positive role.

The party led a great political ideological struggle against those in its own ranks who proposed anti-Leninist theses, who represented a political line hostile to the party and to the cause of socialism. This was a stubborn and a difficult fight but a necessary one, because the political line of both the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc and of the Bukharinites [followers of Nikolai I. Bukharin] led actually toward the restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie.

Let us consider for a moment what would have happened if in 1928-1929 the political line of right deviation had prevailed among us, or orientation toward "cottondress industrialization," or toward the kulak [rich peasant] etc. We would not now have a powerful heavy industry, we would not have the collective farms, we would find ourselves disarmed and weak in a capitalist encirclement.

It was for this reason that the party led an inexorable ideological fight and explained to all party members and to the nonparty masses the harm and the danger of the anti-Leninist proposals of the Trotskyite opposition and the rightist opportunists. And this great work of explaining the party line bore fruit; both the Trotskyites and the rightist opportunists were politically isolated; the overwhelming party majority supported the Leninist line and the party was able to awaken and organize the working masses to apply the Leninist party line and to build socialism.

Worth noting is the fact that even during the progress of the furious ideological fight against the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, the Bukharinites and others, extreme repressive measures were not used against them. The fight was on ideological grounds. But some years later when socialism in our country was fundamentally constructed, when the exploiting classes were generally liquidated, when the Soviet social structure had radically changed, when the social basis for political movements and groups hostile to the party had violently contracted, when the ideological opponents of the party were long since defeated politically, then the repression directed against them began.

REPRESSIVE POLICY STARTS

It was precisely during this period (1935-1937-1938) that the practice of mass repression through the Government apparatus was born, first against the enemies of Leninism — Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, long since politically defeated by the party, and subsequently also against many honest Communists, against those party cadres who had borne the heavy load of the Civil War and the first and most difficult years of industrialization and collectivization, who actively fought against the Trotskyites and the rightists for the Leninist party line.

Stalin originated the concept "enemy of the people." This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations.

This concept "enemy of the people" actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one's views known on this or that issue, even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the "confession" of the accused himself; and, as subsequent probing proved, "confessions" were acquired through physical pressures against the accused.

This led to glaring violations of revolutionary legality, and to the fact that many entirely innocent persons, who in the past had defended the party line, became victims.

We must assert that, in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their psysical annihilation. The formula "enemy of the people" was specifically introduced for the purpose of annihilating such individuals.

It is a fact that many persons who were later annihilated as enemies of the party and the people had worked with Lenin during his life. Some of these persons had made errors during Lenin's life, but despite this, Lenin benefited by their work, he corrected them and he did everything possible to retain them in the ranks of the party; he induced them to follow him.

LENIN DIRECTIVE QUOTED

In this connection the delegates to the party congress should familiarize themselves with an unpublished note by V.I. Lenin directed to the Central Committee's Political Bureau in October, 1920. Outlining the duties of the Control Commission, Lenin wrote that the commission should be transformed into a real "organ of party and proletarian conscience."

As a special duty of the Control Commission there is recommended a deep, individualized relationship with, and sometimes even a type of therapy for, the representatives of the so-called opposition, those who have experienced a psychological crisis because of failure in their Soviet or party career. An effort should be made to quiet them, to explain the matter to them in a way used among comrades, to find for them (avoiding the method of issuing orders), a task for which they are psychologically fitted. Advice and rules relating to this matter are to be formulated by the Central Committee's Organizational Bureau, etc.

Everyone knows how irreconcilable Lenin was with the ideological enemies of Marxism, with those who deviated from the correct party line. At the same time, however, Lenin, as is evident from the given document, in his practice of directing the party demanded the most intimate party contact with people who had shown indecision or temporary nonconformity with the party line, but whom it was possible to return to the party path. Lenin advised that such people should be patiently educated without the application of extreme methods.

Lenin's wisdom in dealing with people was evident in his work with cadres.

An entirely different relationship with people characterized Stalin. Lenin's traits — patient work with people; stubborn and painstaking education of them; the ability to induce people to follow him without using compulsion, but rather through the ideological influence on them of the whole collective — were entirely foreign to Stalin. He [Stalin] discarded the Leninist method of convincing and educating; he abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions, and terror. He acted on an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive organs, at the same time often violating all existing norms of morality and of Soviet laws.

Arbitrary behavior by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation.

This, of course, did not contribute toward unity of the party ranks and of all strata of working people, but, on the contrary, brought about annihilation and the expulsion from the party of workers who were loyal but inconvenient to Stalin.

Our party fought for the implementation of Lenin's plans for the construction of socialism. This was an ideological fight. Had Leninist principles been observed during the course of this fight, had the party's devotion to principles been skillfully combined with a keen and solicitous concern for people, had they not been repelled and wasted, but rather drawn to our side, we certainly would not have had such a brutal violation of revolutionary legality and many thousands of people would not have fallen victim of the method of terror. Extraordinary methods would then have been resorted to only against those people who had in fact committed criminal acts against the Soviet system.

Let us recall some historical facts.

In the days before the October Revolution two members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party, Kamenev and Zinoviev, declared themselves against Lenin's plan for an armed uprising. In addition, on Oct. 18 they published in the Menshevik newspaper Novaya Zhizn a statement declaring that the Bolsheviks were making preparations for an uprising and that they considered it adventuristic. Kamenev and Zinoviev thus disclosed to the enemy the decision of the Central Committee to stage the uprising, and that the uprising had been organized to take place within the very near future.

This was treason against the party and against the revolution. In this connection V. I. Lenin wrote: "Kamenev and Zinoviev revealed the decision of the Central Committee of their party on the armed uprising to [M.] Rodzyanko and [Alexander F.] Kerensky. * * * " He put before the Central Committee the question of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's expulsion from the party.

However, after the Great Socialist October Revolution, as is known, Zinoviev and Kamenev were given leading positions. Lenin put them in positions in which they carried out most responsible party tasks and participated actively in the work of the leading party and Soviet organs. It is known that Zinoviev and Kamenev committed a number of other serious errors during Lenin's life. In his "testament" Lenin warned that "Zinoviev's and Kamenev's October episode was, of course, not an accident." But Lenin did not pose the question of their arrest and certainly not their shooting.

THE TROTSKYITE ISSUE

Or let us take the example of the Trotskyites. At present, after a sufficiently long historical period, we can speak about the fight with the Trotskyites with complete calm and can analyze this matter with sufficient objectivity. After all, around Trotsky were people whose origin cannot by any means be traced to bourgeois society. Part of them belonged to the party intelligentsia and a certain part were recruited from among the workers.

We can name many individuals who in their time joined the Trotskyites; however, these same individuals took an active part in the workers' movement before the revolution, during the Socialist October Revolution itself, and also in the consolidation of the victory of this greatest of revolutions. Many of them broke with Trotskyism and returned to Leninist positions. Was it necessary to annihilate such people? We are deeply convinced that had Lenin lived such an extreme method would not have been used against many of them.

Such are only a few historical facts. But can it be said that Lenin did not decide to use even the most severe means against enemies of the revolution when this was actually necessary? No, no one can say this. Vladimir Ilyich demanded uncompromising dealings with the enemies of the revolution and of the working class and when necessary resorted ruthlessly to such methods.

You need only recall V. I. Lenin's fight with the Socialist Revolutionary organizers of the anti-Soviet uprising, with the counter-revolutionary kulaks in 1918 and with others, when Lenin without hesitation used the most extreme methods against the enemies. Lenin used such methods, however, only against actual class enemies and not against those who blunder, who err, and whom it was possible to lead through ideological influence, and even retain in the leadership.

Lenin used severe methods only in the most necessary cases, when the exploiting classes were still in existence and were vigorously opposing the revolution, when the struggle for survival was decidedly assuming the sharpest forms, even including a civil war.

Stalin, on the other hand, used extreme methods and mass repressions at a time when the revolution was already victorious, when the Soviet state was strengthened, when the exploiting classes were already liquidated and Socialist relations were rooted solidly in all phases of national economy, when our party was politically consolidated and had strengthened itself both numerically and ideologically. It is clear that here Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. Instead of proving his political correctness and mobilizing the masses, he often chose the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet Government. Here we see no wisdom but only a demonstration of the brutal force which had once so alarmed V. I. Lenin.

Lately, especially after the unmasking of the [Lavrenti P.] Beria gang, the Central Committee looked into a series of matters fabricated by this gang. This revealed a very ugly picture of brutal willfulness connected with the incorrect behavior of Stalin. As facts prove, Stalin, using his unlimited power, allowed himself many abuses, acting in the name of the Central Committee, not asking for the opinion of the Committee members nor even of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; often he did not inform them about his personal decisions concerning very important party and government matters.

CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Considering the question of the cult of an individual we must first of all show everyone what harm this caused to the interests of our party.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had always stressed the party's role and significance in the direction of the Socialist government of workers and peasants; he saw in this the chief precondition for a successful building of socialism in our country. Pointing to the great responsibility of the Bolshevik party, as a ruling party in the Soviet state, Lenin called for the most meticulous observance of all norms of party life; he called for the realization of the principles of collegiality in the direction of the party and the state.

Collegiality of leadership flows from the very nature of our party, a party built on the principles of democratic centralism. "This means," said Lenin, "that all party matters are accomplished by all party members, directly or through representatives, who without any exceptions, are subject to the same rules; in addition, all administrative members, all directing collegia, all holders of party positions are elective, they must account for their activities and are recallable."

It is known that Lenin himself offered an example of the most careful observance of these principles. There was no matter so important that Lenin himself decided it without asking for advice and approval of the majority of the Central Committee members or of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau.

In the most difficult period for our party and our country, Lenin considered it necessary regularly to convoke congresses, party conferences, and plenary sessions of the Central Committee at which all the most important questions were discussed and where resolutions, carefully worked out by the collective leaders, were approved.

YEAR OF INTERVENTION

We can recall, for an example, the year 1918 when the country was threatened by the attack of the imperialistic interventionists. In this situation the seventh party congress was convened in order to discuss a vitally important matter which could not be postponed, the matter of peace. In 1919, while the Civil War was raging, the eighth party congress convened, adopted a new party program and decided such important matters as the relationship with the peasant masses, the organization of the Red Army, the leading role of the party in the work of the Soviets, the correction of the social composition of the party, and other matters.

In 1920 the ninth party congress was convened, which laid down guiding principles pertaining to the party's work in the sphere of economic construction. In 1921, the tenth party congress accepted Lenin's New Economic Policy and the historical resolution called, "About Party Unity."

During Lenin's life party congresses were convened regularly; always, when a radical turn in the development of the party and the country took place, Lenin considered it absolutely necessary that the party discuss at length all the basic matters pertaining to internal and foreign policy and to questions bearing on the development of party and government.

It is very characteristic that Lenin addressed to the party congress as the highest party organ his last articles, letters and remarks. During the period between congresses the Central Committee of the party, acting as the most authoritative leading collective, meticulously observed the principles of the party and carried out its policy.

So it was during Lenin's life.

LENIN'S RECORD IS NOTED

Were our party's holy Leninist principles observed after the death of Vladimir Ilyich?

Whereas during the first few years after Lenin's death party congresses and Central Committee plenums took place more or less regularly, later, when Stalin began increasingly to abuse his power, these principles were brutally violated. This was especially evident during the last fifteen years of his life. Was it a normal situation when thirteen years elapsed between the eighteenth and nineteenth party congresses, years during which our party and our country had experienced so many important events? These events demanded categorically that the party should have passed resolutions pertaining to the country's defense during the Patriotic War [World War II] and to peacetime construction after the war. Even after the end of the war a congress was not convened for more than seven years.

Central Committee plenums were hardly ever called. It should be sufficient to mention that during all the years of the patriotic war not a single Central Committee plenum took place. It is true that there was an attempt to call a Central Committee plenum in October 1941, when Central Committee members from the whole country were called to Moscow. They waited two days for the opening of the plenum, but in vain. Stalin did not even want to meet and to talk to the Central Committee members. This fact shows how demoralized Stalin was in the first months of the war and how haughtily and disdainfully he treated the Central Committee members.

In practice Stalin ignored the norms of party life and trampled on the Leninist principle of collective party leadership.

Stalin's willfulness vis-a-vis the party and its Central Committee became fully evident after the seventeenth party congress, which took place in 1934.

INJUSTICES INVESTIGATED

Having at its disposal numerous data showing brutal willfulness toward party cadres, the Central Committee had created a party commission under the control of the Central Committee's Presidium; it was charged with investigating what made possible the mass repressions against the majority of the Central Committee members and candidates elected at the seventeenth congress of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks).

The commission has become acquainted with a large quantity of materials in the N. K. V. D. [secret police] archives and with other documents and has established many facts pertaining to the fabrication of cases against Communists, to false accusations, to glaring abuses of Socialist legality which resulted in the death of innocent people. It became apparent that many party, Government and economic activists who were branded in 1937-38 as "enemies," were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists.

They were only so stigmatized and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges—falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes. The commission has presented to the Central Committee Presidium lengthy and documented materials pertaining to mass repressions against the delegates to the seventeenth party congress and against members of the Central Committee elected at that congress. These materials have been studied by the Presidium of the Central Committee.

98 OF 139 EXECUTED

It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the seventeenth congress, ninety-eight persons, i.e., 70 per cent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38). (Indignation in the hall.)

What was the composition of the delegates to the seventeenth congress? It is known that 80 per cent of the voting participants of the seventeenth congress joined the party during the years of conspiracy before the revolution and during the civil war; this means before 1921. By social origin the basic mass of the delegates to the congress were workers (60 per cent of the voting members).

For this reason, it was inconceivable that a congress so composed would have elected a Central Committee, a majority of whom would prove to be enemies of the party. The only reason why 70 per cent of Central Committee members and candidates elected at the seventeenth congress were branded as enemies of the party and of the people was because honest Communists were slandered, accusations against them were fabricated, and revolutionary legality was gravely undermined.

The same fate met not only the Central Committee members but also the majority of the delegates to the seventeenth party congress. Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, 1,108 persons were arrested on charges of antirevolutionary crimes, i.e., decidedly more than a majority. This very fact shows how absurd, wild and contrary to common sense were the charges of counter - revolutionary crimes made, as we now see, against a majority of participants at the seventeenth party congress. (Indignation in the hall.)

We should recall that the seventeenth party congress is historically known as the Congress of Victors. Delegates to the congress were active participants in the building of our Socialist state; many of them suffered and fought for party interests during the pre-revolutionary years in the conspiracy and at the civil war fronts; they fought their enemies valiantly and often nervelessly looked into the face of death. How then can we believe that such people could prove to be "two-faced" and had joined the camps of the enemies of socialism during the era after the political liquidation of Zinovievites, Trotskyites and rightists and after the great accomplishments of Socialist construction?

This was the result of the abuse of power by Stalin, who began to use mass terror against the party cadres.

What is the reason that mass repressions against activists increased more and more after the seventeenth party congress? It was because at that time Stalin had so elevated himself above the party and above the nation that he ceased to consider either the Central Committee or the party. While he still reckoned with the opinion of the collective before the seventeenth congress, after the complete political liquidation of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites, when as a result of that fight and Socialist victories the party achieved unity, Stalin ceased to an ever greater degree to consider the members of the party's Central Committee and even the members of the Political Bureau. Stalin thought that now he could decide all things alone and all he needed were statisticians; he treated all others in such a way that they could only listen to and praise him.

THE KIROV PURGES

After the criminal murder of Sergei M. Kirov, mass repressions and brutal acts of violation of Socialist legality began. On the evening of Dec. 1, 1934, on Stalin's initiative (without the approval of the Political Bureau, which was passed two days later, casually) the secretary of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, Abel S. Yenukidze, signed the following directive:

1. Investigative agencies are directed to speed up the cases of those accused of the preparation or execution of acts of terror.

2. Judicial organs are directed not to hold up the execution of death sentences pertaining to crimes of this category in order to consider the possibility of pardon, because the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. does not consider as possible the receiving of petitions of this sort.

3. The organs of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs are directed to execute the death sentences against criminals of the above-mentioned category immediately after the passage of sentences.

This directive became the basis for mass acts of abuse against Socialist legality. During many of the fabricated court cases the accused were charged with "the preparation" of terroristic acts; this deprived them of any possibility that their cases might be re-examined.

(Continued on page 4)

. . . Text of Khrushchev's Speech

(Continued from page 3)

even when they stated before the court that their "confessions" were secured by force, and when, in a convincing manner, they disproved the accusations against them.

It must be asserted that to this day the circumstances surrounding Kirov's murder hide many things which are inexplicable and mysterious and demand a most careful examination. There are reasons for the suspicion that the killer of Kirov, [Leonid V.] Nikolayev, was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov. A month and a half before the killing, Nikolayev was arrested on the ground of suspicious behavior, but he was released and not even searched.

It is an unusually suspicious circumstance that when the Chekist [secret police member] assigned to protect Kirov was being brought for an interrogation, on Dec. 2, 1934, he was killed in a car "accident" in which no other occupants of the car were harmed. After the murder of Kirov, top functionaries of the Leningrad N.K.V.D. were given very light sentences, but in 1937 they were shot. We can assume that they were shot in order to cover the traces of the organizers of Kirov's killing.

Mass repressions grew tremendously from the end of 1936 after a telegram from Stalin and [Andrei A.] Zhdanov, dated from Sochi Sept. 25, 1936, was addressed to [Lazar M.] Kaganovich, [Vyacheslav M.] Molotov and other members of the Political Bureau. The content of the telegram was as follows:

"We deem it absolutely necessary and urgent that Comrade [Nikolai I.] Yezhov be nominated to the post of People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. [Henryk G.] Yagoda has definitely proved himself to be incapable of unmasking the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc. The O. G. P. U. is four years behind in this matter. This is noted by all party workers and by the majority of the representatives of the N. K. V. D."

Strictly speaking we should stress that Stalin did not meet with and therefore could not know the opinion of party workers.

This Stalinist formulation that the "N. K. V. D. [term used interchangeably with O. G. P. U.] is four years behind" in applying mass repression and that there is a necessity for "catching up" with the neglected work directly pushed the N. K. V. D. workers on the path of mass arrests and executions.

We should state that this formulation was also forced on the February-March plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) in 1937. The plenary resolution approved it on the basis of Yezhov's report, "Lessons flowing from the harmful activity, diversion and espionage of the Japanese-German-Trotskyite agents," stating:

"The Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) considers that all facts revealed during the investigation into the matter of an anti-Soviet Trotskyite center and of its followers in the provinces show that the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs has fallen behind at least four years in the attempt to unmask these most inexorable enemies of the people."

The mass repressions at this time were made under the slogan of a fight against the Trotskyites. Did the Trotskyites at this time actually constitute such a danger to our party and to the Soviet state? We should recall that in 1927 on the eve of the fifteenth party congress only about 4,000 votes were cast for the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition, while there were 724,000 for the party line. During the ten years that passed between the fifteenth party congress and the February-March Central Committee Plenum, Trotskyism was completely disarmed; many former Trotskyites had changed their former views and worked in the various sectors building socialism. It is clear that in the situation of Socialist victory there was no basis for mass terror in the country.

JUSTIFICATION FOR TERROR

Stalin's report at the February-March Central Committee Plenum in 1937, "Deficiencies of party work and methods for the liquidation of the Trotskyites and other two-facers," contained an attempt at theoretical justification of the mass terror policy under the pretext that as we march forward toward socialism class war must allegedly sharpen. Stalin asserted that both history and Lenin taught him this.

Actually, Lenin taught that the application of revolutionary violence is necessitated by the resistance of the exploiting classes, and this referred to the era when the exploiting classes existed and were powerful. As soon as the nation's political situation had improved, when in January, 1920, the Red Army took Rostov and thus won a most important victory over [Anton I.] Denikin, Lenin instructed [Felix E.] Dzherzhinsky to stop mass terror and abolish the death penalty. Lenin justified this important report at the session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee Feb. 2, 1920.

"We were forced to use terror because of the terror practiced by the Entente, when strong world powers threw their hordes against us, not avoiding any type of conduct. We would not have lasted two days had we not answered these attempts of officers and White Guardists in a merciless fashion; this meant the use of terror, but this was forced upon us by the terrorist methods of the Entente.

"But as soon as we attained a decisive victory, even before the end of the war, immediately after taking Rostov, we gave up the use of the death penalty and thus proved that we intend to execute our own program in the manner that we promised. We say that the application of violence flows out of the decision to smother the exploiters, the big landowners and the capitalists; as soon as this was accomplished we gave up the use of all extraordinary methods. We have proved this in practice."

Stalin deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin. Stalin put the party and the N. K. V. D. up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror.

This terror was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes but against the honest workers of the party and of the Soviet state; against them were made lying, slanderous and absurd accusations concerning 'two-facedness," "espionage," "sabotage," preparation of fictitious "plots," etc.

STALIN'S COURSE QUESTIONED

At the February-March Central Committee Plenum in 1937 many members actually questioned the rightness of the established course regarding mass repressions under the pretext of combatting "two-facedness."

Comrade [Pavel P.] Postyshev most ably expressed these doubts. He said:

"I have philosophized that the severe years of fighting have passed, party members who have lost their backbones have broken down or have joined the camp of the enemy; healthy elements have fought for the party. These were the years of industrialization and collectivization. I never thought it possible that after this severe era had passed Karpov and people like him would find themselves in the camp of the enemy. [Karpov was a worker in the Ukrainian Central Committee whom Postyshev knew well.] And now, according to the testimony, it appears that Karpov was recruited in 1934 by the Trotskyites. I personally do not believe that in 1934 an honest party member who had trod the long road of unrelenting fight against enemies for the party and for socialism, would now be in the camp of the enemies. I do not believe it. . . I cannot imagine how it would be possible to travel with the party during the difficult years and then, in 1934, join the Trotskyites. It is an odd thing." (Movement in the hall).

Using Stalin's formulation, namely that the closer we are to socialism the more enemies we will have, and using the resolution of the February-March Central Committee Plenum passed on the basis of Yezhov's report —the provocateurs who had infiltrated the state security organs together with conscienceless careerists began to protect with the party name the mass terror against party cadres, cadres of the Soviet state and the ordinary Soviet citizens. It should suffice to say that the number of arrests based on charges of counter-revolutionary crimes had grown ten times between 1936 and 1937.

It is known that brutal willfulness was practiced against leading party workers. The party statute, approved at the seventeenth party congress, was based on Leninist principles expressed at the tenth party congress. It stated that to apply in extreme method such as exclusion from the party against a Central Committee member, against a Central Committee candidate, and against a member of the Party Control Commission, "it is necessary to call a Central Committee Plenum and to invite to the Plenum all Central Committee candidate members and all members of the Party Control Commission"; only if two-thirds of the members of such a general assembly of responsible party leaders find it necessary, only then can a Central Committee member or candidate be expelled.

ILLEGAL OUSTERS CHARGED

The majority of the Central Committee members and candidates elected at the seventeenth congress and arrested in 1937-1938 were expelled from the party illegally through the brutal abuse of the party statute, because the question of their expulsion was never studied at the Central Committee Plenum.

Now when the cases of some of these so-called "spies" and "saboteurs" were examined it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with enemy activity were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures.

At the same time Stalin, as we have been informed by members of the Political Bureau of that time, did not show them the statements of many accused political activists when they retracted their confessions before the military tribunal and asked for an objective examination of their cases. There were many such declarations, and Stalin doubtlessly knew of them.

The Central Committee considers it absolutely necessary to inform the congress of many such fabricated "cases" against the members of the party's Central Committee elected at the seventeenth party congress.

An example of vile provocation, of odious falsification and of criminal violation of revolutionary legality is the case of the former candidate for the Central Committee Political Bureau, one of the most eminent workers of the party and of the Soviet Government, Comrade Robert I. Eikhe, who was a party member since 1905, (Commotion in the hall.)

Comrade Eikhe was arrested April 29, 1938 on the basis of slanderous materials, without the sanction of the prosecutor of the U. S. S. R., which was finally received fifteen months after the arrest.

Investigation of Eikhe's case was made in a manner, which most brutally violated Soviet legality and was accompanied by willfulness and falsification.

Eikhe was forced under torture to sign ahead of time a protocol of his confession prepared by the investigative judges, in which he and several other eminent party workers were accused of anti-Soviet activity.

On Oct. 1, 1939, Eikhe sent his declaration to Stalin in which he categorically denied his guilt and asked for an examination of his case. In the declaration he wrote:

"There is no more bitter misery than to sit in the jail of a government for which I have always fought."

SECOND DECLARATION CITED

A second declaration of Eikhe has been preserved which he sent to Stalin Oct. 27, 1939. In it he cited facts very convincingly and countered the slanderous accusations made against him arguing that this provocatory accusation was on the one hand the work of real Trotskyites whose arrests he had sanctioned as First Secretary of the West Siberian Krai Party Committee and who conspired to take revenge on him, and, on the other hand, the result of the base falsification of materials by the investigative judges. Eikhe wrote in his declaration:

"On Oct. 25 of this year I was informed that the investigation in my case has been concluded and I was given access to the materials of this investigation. Had I been guilty of only one-hundredth of the crimes with which I am charged, I would not have dared to send you this preexecution declaration; however, I have not been guilty of even one of the things with which I am charged and my heart is clean of even the shadow of baseness. I have never in my life told you a word of falsehood and now, finding my two feet in the grave, I am also not lying. My whole case is a typical example of provocation, slander and violation of the elementary basis of revolutionary legality.

"The confessions which were made part of my file are not only absurd but contain some slander toward the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) and toward the Council of People's Commissars because correct resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) and of the Council of People's Commissars which were not made on my initiative and without my participation are presented as hostile acts of counter-revolutionary organizations made at my suggestion.

"I am now alluding to the most disgraceful part of my life and to my really grave guilt against the party and against you. This is my confession of counter-revolutionary activity. . . The case is as follows: not being able to suffer the tortures to which I was submitted by Ushakov and Nikolayev — and especially by the first one — who utilized the knowledge that my broken ribs have not properly mended and have caused me great pain — I have been forced to accuse myself and others.

"The majority of my confession has been suggested or dictated by Ushakov, and the remainder is my reconstruction of NKVD materials from Western Siberia for which I assumed all responsibility. If some part of the story which Ushakov fabricated and which I signed did not properly hang together, I was forced to sign another variation. The same thing was done to Rukhimovich, who was at first designated as a member of the reserve net and whose name later was removed without telling me anything about it; the same was also done with the leader of the reserve net, supposedly created by Bukharin in 1935. At first I wrote my name in, and then I was instructed to insert Mezhlauk. There were other similar incidents.

"I am asking and begging you that you again examine my case and this not for the purpose of sparing me but in order to unmask the vile provocation which like a snake wound itself around many persons in a great degree due to my meanness and criminal slander. I have never betrayed you or the party. I know that I perish because of vile and mean work of the enemies of the party and of the people, who fabricated the provocation against me."

It would appear that such an important declaration was worth an examination by the Central Committee. This, however, was not done and the declaration was transmitted to Beria while the terrible maltreatment of the Political Bureau candidate, Comrade Eikhe, continued.

On Feb. 2, 1940, Eikhe was brought before the court. Here he did not confess any guilt and said as follows:

"In all the so-called confessions of mine there is not one letter written by me with the exception of my signatures under the protocols which were forced from me. I have made my confession under pressure from the investigative judge who from the time of my arrest tormented me. After that I began to write all this nonsense. The most important thing for me is to tell the court, the party and Stalin that I am not guilty. I have never been guilty of any conspiracy. I will die believing in the truth of party policy as I have believed in it during my whole life."

On Feb. 4 Eikhe was shot. It has been definitely established now that Eikhe's case was fabricated; he has been posthumously rehabilitated.

Comrade [Yan E.] Rudzutak, candidate member of the Political Bureau, member of the party since 1905, who spent ten years in a Czarist hard-labor camp, completely retracted in court the confession which was forced from him. The protocol of the session of the Collegium of the Supreme Military Court contains the following statement by Rudzutak:

"The only plea which he places before the court is that the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) be informed that there is in the N.K.V.D. an as yet not liquidated center which is craftily manufacturing cases, which forces innocent persons to confess; there is not opportunity to prove one's nonparticipation in crimes to which the confessions of various persons testify. The investigative methods are such that they force people to lie and to slander entirely innocent persons in addition to those who already stand accused.

He asks the court that he be allowed to inform the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) about all this in writing. He assures the court that he personally had never any evil designs in regard to the policy of our party because he had always agreed with the party policy pertaining to all spheres of economic and cultural activity."

This declaration of Rudzutak was ignored, despite the fact that Rudzutak was in his time the chief of the Central Control Commission, which was called into being in accordance with Lenin's concept for the purpose of fighting for party unity. In this manner fell the chief of this highly authoritative party organ, a victim of brutal willfulness: he was not even called before the Central Committee's Political Bureau because Stalin did not want to talk to him. Sentence was pronounced on him in twenty minutes and he was shot. (Indignation in the hall.)

After careful examination of the case in 1955 it was established that the accusation against Rudzutak was false and that it was based on slanderous materials. Rudzutak has been rehabilitated posthumously.

The way in which the former N. K. V. D. workers manufactured various fictitious "anti-Soviet centers" and "blocs" with the help of provocatory methods is seen from the confession of Comrade Rozenblum, party member since 1906, who was arrested in 1937 by the Leningrad N. K. V. D.

During the examination in 1955 of the Komarov case, Rozenblum revealed the following fact: When Rozenblum was arrested in 1937 he was subjected to terrible torture, during which he was ordered to confess false information concerning himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Leonid Zakovsky, who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the N.K.V.D. concerning "sabotage, espionage, and diversion in a terroristic center in Leningrad." (Movement in the hall.) With unbelievable cynicism Zakovsky told about the vile "medianism" for the crafty creation of fabricated "anti-Soviet plots."

"In order to illustrate it to me," stated Rozenblum, "Zakovsky gave me several possible variants of the organization of this center and of its branches. After he detailed the organization, Zakovsky told me that the N. K. V. D. would prepare the case of this center, remarking that the trial would be public.

"Before the court were to be brought four or five members of this center: Chudov, Ugarov, Smorodin, Pozern, Shaposhnikova [Chudov's wife] and others together with two or three members from the branches of this center. . . .

"The case of the Leningrad center has to be built solidly and for this reason witnesses are needed. Social origin (of course, in the past) and the party standing of the witness will play more than a small role.

N.K.V.D. INSTRUCTIONS QUOTED

"You, yourself," said Zakovsky, "will not need to invent anything. The N. K. V. D. will prepare for you a ready outline for every branch of the center; you will have to study it carefully and to remember well all questions and answers which the court might ask. This case will be ready in four-five months, or perhaps a half year. During all this time you will be preparing yourself so that you will not compromise the investigation and yourself. Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you begin to lie and to testify falsely, blame yourself. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head and we will feed and clothe you at the government's cost until your death." This is the kind of vile things which were then practiced. (Movement in the hall.)

Even more widely was the falsification of cases practiced in the provinces. The N.K.V.D. headquarters of the Sverdlovsk Oblast "discovered" the so-called "Ural uprising staff" — an organ of the bloc of rightists, Trotskyites, Socialist Revolutionaries, church leaders—whose chief supposedly was the Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Party Committee and member of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks), Kabakov, who had been a party member since 1914.

The investigative materials of that time show that in almost all krais, oblasts and republics there supposedly existed "rightist Trotskyite, espionage-terror and diversionary-sabotage organizations and centers" and that the heads of such organizations as a rule—for no known reason — were first secretaries of oblast or republic Communist party committee or Central Committees. (Movement in the hall.)

Many thousands of honest and innocent Communists have died as a result of this monstrous falsification of such "cases," as a result of the fact that all kinds of slanderous "confessions" were accepted, and as a result of the practice of forcing accusations against oneself and others. In the same manner were fabricated the "cases" against eminent party and state workers — Kosior, Chubar, Postyshev, Kosaryev, and others.

In those years repressions on a mass scale were applied which were based on nothing tangible and which resulted in heavy cadre losses to the party.

The vicious practice was condoned of having the N. K. V. D. prepare lists of persons whose cases were under the jurisdiction of the Military Collegium and whose sentences were prepared in advance. Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin, personally for his approval of the proposed punishment. In 1937-1938, 383 such lists containing the names of many thousands of party, Soviet, Komsomol, Army and economic workers were sent to Stalin. He approved these lists.

CASES NOW BEING REVIEWED

A large part of these cases are being reviewed now and a great part of them are being voided because they were baseless and falsified. Suffice it to say that from 1954 to the present time the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court has rehabilitated 7,679 persons, many of whom were rehabilitated posthumously.

Mass arrests of party, Soviet, economic and military workers caused tremendous harm to our country and to the cause of Socialist advancement.

Mass repressions had a negative influence on the moral-political condition of the party, created a situation of uncertainty, contributed to the spreading of unhealthy suspicion, and sowed distrust among Communists. All sorts of slanderers and careerists were active.

Resolutions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks), in 1938 had brought some measure of improvement to the party organizations. However, widespread repression also existed in 1938.

Only because our party has at its disposal such great moral-political strength was it possible for it to survive the difficult events in 1937-1938 and to educate new cadres. There is, however, no doubt that our march forward toward socialism and toward the preparation of the country's defense would have been much more successful were it not for the tremendous loss in the cadres suffered as a result of the baseless and false mass repressions in 1937-1938.

We are justly accusing Yezhov for the degenerate practices of 1937. But we have to answer these questions: Could Yezhov have arrested Kosior, for instance, without the knowledge of Stalin? Was there an exchange of opinions or a Political Bureau decision concerning this? No, there was not, as there was none regarding other cases of this type. Could Yezhov have decided such important matters as the fate of such eminent party figures?

BLAME PLACED ON STALIN

No, it would be a display of naivete to consider this the work of Yezhov alone. It is clear that these matters were decided by Stalin, and that without his orders and his sanction Yezhov could not have done this.

We have examined the cases and have rehabilitated Kosior, Rudzutak, Postyshev, Kosaryev and others. For what causes were they arrested and sentenced? The review of evidence shows that there was no reason for this. They, like many others, were arrested without the prosecutor's knowledge.

In such a situation there is no need for any sanction, for what sort of a sanction could there be when Stalin decided everything? He was the chief prosecutor in these cases. Stalin not only agreed to, but on his own initiative, issued arrest orders. We must say this so that the delegates to the congress can clearly undertake and themselves assess this and draw the proper conclusions.

Facts prove that many abuses were made on Stalin's orders without reckoning with any norms of party and Soviet legality. Stalin was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious; we knew this from our work with him. He could look at a man and say: "Why are your eyes so shifty today," or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding to look me directly in the eyes?" The sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward eminent party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies," "two-facers" and "spies."

Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great willfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created were one could not express one's own will.

When Stalin said that one or another should be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an "enemy of the people." Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of state security, outdid itself in proving the guilt of the arrested and the truth of materials which it falsified.

And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested, and the investigative judges accepted these "confessions." And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way — because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were "confessions" acquired.

TORTURE DEFENDED BY STALIN

When the wave of mass arrests began to recede in 1939, and the leaders of territorial party organizations began to accuse the N. K. V. D. workers of using methods of physical pressure on the arrested, Stalin dispatched a coded telegram Jan. 20, 1939, to the committee secretaries of oblasts and krais, to the Central Committees of republic Communist parties, to the Peoples Commissars of Internal Affairs and to the heads of N. K. V. D. organizations. This telegram stated:

"The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) explains that the application of methods of physical pressure in N. K. V. D. practice is permissible from 1937 on in accordance with permission of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks). It is known that all bourgeois intelligence services use methods of physical influence against the representatives of the Socialist proletariat and that they use them in their most scandalous forms.

"The question arises as to why the Socialist intelligence service should be more humanitarian against the mad agents of the bourgeoisie, against the deadly enemies of the working class and of the collective farm workers. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) considers that physical pressure should still be used obligatorily, as an exception applicable to known and obstinate enemies of the people, as a method both justifiable and appropriate."

Thus, Stalin had sanctioned in the name of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks) the most brutal violation of Socialist legality, torture and oppression, which led as we have seen to the slandering and self-accusation of innocent people.

Not long ago, only several days before the present congress, we called to the Central Committee Presidium session and interrogated the investigative judge Rodos, who in his time investigated and interrogated Kosior, Chubar and Kosaryev. He is a vile person, with the brain of a bird, and morally completely degenerate. And it was this man who was deciding the fate of prominent party workers; he was making judgments also concerning the politics in these matters, because having established their "crime," he provided therewith materials from which important political implications could be drawn.

The question arises whether a man with such an intellect could alone make the investigation in a manner to prove the guilt of people such as Kosior and others. No, he could not have done it without proper directives. At the Central Committee Presidium session he told us: "I was told that Kosior and Chubar were people's enemies and for this reason, I, as an investigative judge, had to make them confess that they are enemies." (Indignation in the hall.)

He could do this only through long tortures, which he did, receiving detailed instructions from Beria. We must say that at the Central Committee Presidium session he cynically declared: "I thought that I was executing the orders of the party." In this manner Stalin's orders concerning the use of methods of physical pressure against the arrested were in practice executed.

These and many other facts show that all norms of correct party solution of problems were invalidated and everything was dependent upon the willfulness of one man.

STALIN'S ROLE IN WAR

The power accumulated in the hands of one person, Stalin, led to serious consequences during the Great Patriotic War.

When we look at many of our novels, films and historical "scientific studies," the role of Stalin in the Patriotic War appears to be entirely improbable. Stalin had foreseen everything. The Soviet Army, on the basis of a strategic plan prepared by Stalin long before, used the tactics of so-called "active defense," i. e., tactics which, as we know, allowed the Germans to come up to Moscow and Stalingrad.

Using such tactics the Soviet Army, supposedly, thanks only to Stalin's genius, turned to the offensive and subdued the enemy. The epic victory gained through the armed might of the Land of the Soviets, through our heroic people, is ascribed in this type of novel, film and "scientific study" as being completely due to the strategic genius of Stalin.

We have to analyze this matter carefully because it has a tremendous significance not only from the historical, but especially from the political, educational and practical point of view.

What are the facts of this matter?

Before the war our press and all our political-educational work was characterized by its bragging tone: when an enemy violates the holy Soviet soil, then for every blow of the enemy we will answer with three blows and we will battle the enemy on his soil and we will win without much harm to ourselves. But these positive statements were not based in all areas on concrete facts, which would actually guarantee the immunity of our borders.

STALIN'S EXCUSE DISPUTED

During the war and after the war Stalin put forward the thesis that the tragedy which our nation experienced in the first part of the war was the result of he "unexpected" attack of the Germans against the Soviet Union. But, Comrades, this is completely untrue.

As soon as Hitler came to power in Germany he assigned to himself the task of liquidating communism. The Fascists were saying this openly; they did not hide their plans. To attain this aggressive end all sorts of pacts and blocs were created, such as the famous Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. Many facts from the pre-war period clearly showed that Hitler was going all out to begin a war against the Soviet state and that he had concentrated larged armed units, together with armored units, near the Soviet borders.

Documents which have now been published show that by April 3, 1941 [Sir Winston] Churchill, through his Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. [Sir Stafford] Cripps, personally warned Stalin that the Germans had begun regrouping their armed units with the intent of attacking the Soviet Union. It is self-evident that Churchill did not do this at all because of his friendly feeling toward the Soviet nation.

He had in this his own imperialistic goals—to bring Germany and the U. S. S. R. into a bloody war and thereby to strengthen the position of the British Empire. Just the same, Churchill affirmed in his writings that he sought to "warn Stalin and call his attention to the danger which threatened him."

Churchill stressed this repeatedly in his dispatches of April 18 and in the following days. However, Stalin took no heed of these warnings. What is more, Stalin ordered that no credence be given to information of this sort, in order not to provoke the initiation of military operations.

We must assert that information of this sort concerning the threat of German armed invasion of Soviet territory was coming in also from our own military and diplomatic sources; however, because the leadership was conditioned against such information, such data were dispatched with fear and assessed with reservation.

Thus, for instance, information sent from Berlin May 6, 1941 by the Soviet military attaché, Capt. Vorontsov, stated:

"Soviet citizen Bozer . . . communicated to the deputy naval attaché that according to a statement of a certain German officer from Hitler's Headquarters, Germany is preparing to invade the U. S. S. R. May 14 through Finland, the Baltic countries and Latvia. At the same time Moscow and Leningrad will be heavily raided and paratroopers landed in border cities."

In his report of May 22, 1941, the deputy military attaché in Berlin, Khlopov, communicated that " . . . the attack of the German army is reportedly scheduled for June 15, but it is possible that it may begin in the first days of June."

WARNING FROM LONDON RECALLED

A cable from our London Embassy dated June 18, 1941, stated:

"As of now Cripps is deeply convinced of the inevitability of armed conflict between Germany and the U. S. S. R. which will begin not later than the middle of June. According to Cripps, the Germans have presently concentrated 147 divisions (including air

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. . . Text of Khrushchev's Speech

(Continued from page 4)

force and service units) along the Soviet borders."

Despite these particularly grave warnings, the necessary steps were not taken to prepare the country properly for defense and to prevent it from being caught unawares.

Did we have time and the capabilities for such preparations? Yes, we had the time and capabilities. Our industry was already so developed that it was capable of fully supplying the Soviet Army with everything that it needed. This is proven by the fact that although during the war we lost almost half of our industry and important industrial and food production areas as the result of enemy occupation of the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus and other western parts of the country, the Soviet nation was still able to organize the production of miliary equipment in the eastern parts of the country, install there equipment taken from the Western industrial areas, and to supply our armed forces with everything which was necessary to destroy the enemy.

Had our industry been mobilized properly and in time to supply the army with the necessary materiel, our wartime losses would have been decidedly smaller. Such mobilization had not been, however, started in time. And already in the first days of the war it became evident that our army was badly armed, that we did not have enough artillery, tanks and planes to throw the enemy back.

Soviet science and technology produced excellent models of tanks and artillery pieces before the war. But mass production of all this was not organized and as a matter of fact we started to modernize our military equipment only on the eve of the war. As a result, at the time of the enemy's invasion of the Soviet land we did not have sufficient quantities either of old machinery which was no longer used for armament production or of new machinery which we had planned to introduce into armament production.

The situation with anti-aircraft artillery was especially bad; we did not organize the production of anti-tank ammunition. Many fortified regions had proven to be indefensible as soon as they were attacked, because the old arms had been withdrawn and new ones were not yet available there.

RIFLES FOR ARMY LACKING

This pertained, alas, not only to tanks, artillery and planes. At the outbreak of the war we did not even have sufficient numbers of rifles to arm the mobilized manpower. I recall that in those days I telephoned to Comrade Malenkov from Kiev and told him: "People have volunteered for the new army and demand arms. You must send us arms."

Malenkov answered me: "We cannot send you arms. We are sending all our rifles to Leningrad and you have to arm yourselves." (Movement in the hall.)

Such was the armament situation.

In this connection we cannot forget, for instance, the following fact. Shortly before the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite army, Kirponos, who was Chief of the Kiev Special Military District (he was later killed at the front) wrote to Stalin that the German Armies were at the Bug River, were preparing for an attack and in the very near future would probably start their offensive. In this connection Kirponos proposed that a strong defense be organized, that 300,000 persons be evacuated from the border areas and that several strong points be organized there: anti-tank ditches, trenches for the soldiers, etc.

Moscow answered this proposition with the assertion, that this would be a provocation, that no preparatory defensive work should be undertaken at the borders, that the Germans were not to be given any pretext for the initiation of military action against us. Thus, our borders were insufficiently prepared to repel the enemy.

When the Fascist armies had actually invaded Soviet territory and military operations began. Moscow issued the order that Stalin, despite evident facts, thought that the war had not yet started, that this was only a provocative action on the part of several undisciplined sections of the German army, and that our reaction might serve as a reason for the Germans to begin the war.

GERMAN'S INFORMATION IGNORED

The following fact is also known. On the eve of the invasion of the territory of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite army a certain German citizen crossed our border and stated that the German armies had received orders to start the offensive against the Soviet Union on the night of June 22 at 3 o'clock. Stalin was informed about this immediately, but even this warning was ignored.

As you see, everything was ignored; warnings of certain army commanders, declarations of deserters from the enemy army, and even the open hostility of the enemy. Is this an example of the alertness of the chief of the party and of the state at this particularly significant historical moment?

And what were the results of this carefree attitude, this disregard of clear facts? The result was that already in the first hours and days the enemy had destroyed in our border regions a large part of our air force, artillery and other equipment; he annihilated large numbers of our military cadres and disorganized our military leadership; consequently we could not prevent the enemy from marching deep into the country.

Very grievous consequences, especially in reference to the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and polical workers during 1937-41 because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations. During these years repressions were instituted against certain parts of military cadres beginning literally at the company and battalion commander level and extending to the higher military centers. During this time the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East was almost completely liquidated.

The policy of large-scale repressions against the military cadres led also to undermined military discipline, because for several years officers of all ranks and even soldiers in the party and Komsomol cells were taught to "unmask" their superiors as hidden enemies. (Movement in the hall.) It is natural that this caused a negative influence on the state of military discipline in the first war period.

And, as you know, we had before the war excellent military cadres which were unquestionably loyal to the party and to the fatherland. Suffice it to say that those of them who managed to survive despite severe tortures to which they were subjected in the prisons, have from the first war days shown themselves real patriots and heroically fought for the glory of the fatherland.

I have here in mind such comrades as Rokossovsky (who, as you know, had been jailed), Gorbatov, Meretskov (who is a delegate at the present congress), Podlas (he was an excellent commander who perished at the front), and many, many others. However, many such commanders perished in camps and jails and the army saw then no more.

All this brought about the situation that existed at the beginning of the war and which was the great threat to our fatherland.

STALIN'S DESPAIR RECOUNTED

It would be incorrect to forget that after the first severe disaster and the defeats at the front Stalin thought that this was the end. In one of his speeches in those days he said: "All that Lenin created we have lost forever."

After this Stalin for a long time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased to do anything whatever. He returned to active leadership only when some members of the Political Bureau visited him and told him that it was necessary to take certain steps immediately to improve the situation at the front.

Therefore the threatening danger which hung over our fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the party by Stalin himself.

However, we speak not only about the moment when the war began, which led to serious disorganization of our army and brought us severe losses. Even after the war began the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin demonstrated, interfering with actual military operations, caused our army serious damage.

Stalin was very far from an understanding of the real situation that was developing at the front. That was natural because during the whole Patriotic War he never visited any section of the front or any liberated city except for one short ride on the Mozhaisk Highway during a stabilized situation at the front.

To this incident were dedicated many literary works full of fantasies of all sorts and so many paintings. Simultaneously, Stalin was interfering with operations and issuing orders that did not take into consideration the real situation at a given section of the front and which could not help but result in huge personnel losses.

I will allow myself in this connection to bring out one characteristic fact that illustrates how Stalin directed operations at the fronts. There is present at this congress Marshal Bagramyan, who was once the Chief of Operations in the Headquarters of the Southwestern front and who can corroborate what I will tell you.

KHARKOV USED AS ILLUSTRATION

When there developed an exceptional serious situation for our army in 1942 in the Kharkov region, we had correctly decided to drop an operation, whose objective was to encircle Kharkov, because the real situation at that time would have threatened our army with fatal consequences if this operation were continued.

We communicated this to Stalin, stating that the situation demanded changes in operational plans so that the enemy would be prevented from liquidating a sizable concentration of our army.

Contrary to common sense, Stalin rejected our suggestion and issued the order to continue the operation aimed at the encirclement of Kharkov, despite the fact that at this time many army concentrations were themselves actually threatened with encirclement and liquidation.

I telephoned to Vasilevsky and begged him:

"Alexander Mikhailovich, take a map (Vasilevsky is present here) and show Comrade Stalin the situation which has developed."

We should note that Stalin planned operations on a globe. (Animation in the hall.) Yes, comrades, he used to take the globe and trace the frontline on it.

I said to Comrade Vasilevsky: "Show him the situation on a map; in the present situation we cannot continue the operation which was planned. The old decision must be changed for the good of the cause."

Vasilevsky replied saying that Stalin had already studied this problem and that he, Vasilevsky, would not see Stalin further concerning this matter because the latter did not want to hear any arguments on the subject of this operation.

After my talk with Vasilevsky I telephoned to Stalin at his villa. But Stalin did not answer the telephone and Malenkov was at the receiver. I told Comrade Malenkov that I was calling from the front and that I wanted to speak personally to Stalin. Stalin informed me through Malenkov that I should speak with Malenkov.

I stated for the second time that I wished to inform Stalin personally about the grave situation which had arisen for us at the front. But Stalin did not consider it convenient to raise the phone and again stated that I should speak to him through Malenkov, although he was only a few steps from the telephone.

After "listening" in this manner to our plea Stalin said, "Let everything remain as it is!"

And what was the result of this? The worst that we had expected. The Germans surrounded our army concentrations and consequently we lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers. This is Stalin's military "genius;" this is what it cost us. (Movement in the hall.)

On one occasion after the war, during a meeting of Stalin with members of the Political Bureau, Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan mentioned that Khruschev must have been right when he telephoned concerning the Kharkov operation and that it was unfortunate that this suggestion had not been accepted.

FURY OF STALIN IS CITED

You should have seen Stalin's fury! How could it be admitted tht he, Stalin, had not been right! He is after all a "genius," and a genius cannot help but be right! Everyone can err, but Stalin considered that he never erred, that he was always right.

He never acknowledged to anyone that he made any mistake, large or small, despite the fact that he made not a few mistakes in the matter of theory and in his practical activity. After the Party Congress we shall probably have to re-evaluate many wartime military operations and to present them in their true light.

The tactics on which Stalin insisted without knowing the essence of the conduct of battle operations cost us much blood until we succeeded in stopping the opponent and going over to the offensive.

The military know that already by the end of 1941 instead of great operational maneuvers flanking the opponent and penetrating behind his back, Stalin demanded incessant frontal attacks and the capture of one village after another. Because of this we paid with great losses until our generals, on whose shoulders rested the whole weight of conducting the war, succeeded in changing the situation and shifting to flexible maneuver operations, which immediately brought serious changes at the front favorable to us.

All the more shameful was the fact that after our great victory over the enemy which cost us so much, Stalin began to downgrade many of the commanders who contributed so much to the victory over the enemy, because Stalin excluded every possibility that services rendered at the front should be credited to anyone but himself.

Stalin was very much interested in the assessment of Comrade Zhukov as a military leader. He asked me often for my opinion of Zhukov. I told him then, "I have known Zhukov for a long time; he is a good general and a good military leader."

After the war Stalin began to tell all kinds of nonsense about Zhukov, among others the following, "You praised Zhukov, but he does not deserve it. It is said that before each operation at the front Zhukov used to behave as follows: he used to take a handful of earth, smell it and say, 'We can begin the attack,' or the opposite, 'the planned operation cannot be carried out'," I stated at that time, "Comrade Stalin, I do not know who invented this, but it is not true."

It is possible that Stalin himself invented these things for the purpose of minimizing the role and military talents of Marshal Zhukov.

In this connection Stalin very energetically popularized himself as a great leader. In various ways he tried to inculcate in the people the version that all victories gained by the Soviet nation during the great patriotic war were due to the courage, daring and genius of Stalin and of no one else. Exactly like Kuzma Kryuchkov [a famous Cossack who performed heroic feats against the Germans], he put one dress on seven persons at the same time. (Animation in the hall.)

HISTORICAL FILMS DISCREDITED

In the same vein, let us take, for instance, our historical and military films and some literary creations; they make us feel sick. Their true objective is the propagation of the theme of praising Stalin as a military genius. Let us recall the film, "The Fall of Berlin." Here only Stalin acts; he issues orders in the hall in which there are many empty chairs and only one man approached him and reports something to him—that is Poskrebyshev, his loyal shield-bearer. (Laughter in the hall.)

And where is the military command? Where is the Political Bureau? Where is the Government? What are they doing and with what are they engaged? There is nothing about them in the film. Stalin acts for everybody; he does not reckon with anyone; he asks no one for advice. Everything is shown to the nation in this false light. Why? In order to surround Stalin with glory, contrary to the facts and contrary to historical truth.

The question arises: And where are the military on whose shoulders rested the burden of the war? They are not in the film; with Stalin in, no room was left for them.

Not Stalin, but the party as a whole, the Soviet Government, our heroic army, its talented leaders and brave soldiers, the whole Soviet nation—these are the ones who assured the victory in the great patriotic war. (Tempestuous and prolonged applause.)

The Central Committee members, ministers, our economic leaders, leaders of Soviet culture, directors of territorial party and Soviet organizations, engineers, and technicians—everyone of them in his own place of work generously gave of his strength and knowledge toward ensuring victory over the enemy.

Exceptional heroism was shown by our hard core—surrounded by glory is our whole working class, our collective farm peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia, who under the leadership of party organizations overcame untold hardships and, bearing the hardships of war, devoted all their strength to the cause of the defense of the fatherland.

Great and brave deeds during the war were accomplished by our Soviet women who bore on their backs the heavy load of production work in the factories, on the collective farms, and in various economic and cultural sectors; many women participated directly in the great patriotic war at the fronts; our brave youth contributed immeasurably at the front and at home to the defense of the Soviet fatherland and to the annihilation of the enemy.

Immortal are the services of the Soviet soldiers, of our commanders and political workers of all ranks; after the loss of a considerable part of the army in the first war months they did not lose their heads and were able to reorganize during the progress of combat; they created and toughened during the progress of the war a strong and heroic army and not only stood off pressure of the strong and cunning enemy but also smashed him.

The magnificent and heroic deeds of hundreds of millions of people of the East and of the West during the fight against the threat of Fascist subjugation which loomed before us will live centuries and millenia in the memory of thankful humanity. (Thunderous applause)

The main role and the main credit for the victorious ending of the war belongs to our Communist party, to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and to the tens of millions of Soviet people raised by the party. (Thunderous and prolonged applause.)

MINORITIES WERE EXILED

Comrades, let us reach for some other facts. The Soviet Union is justly considered as a model of a multi-national state because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great fatherland.

All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet State. We refer to the mass deportations from their native place of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations.

Thus, already at the end of 1943, when there occurred a permanent break-through at the fronts of the great patriotic war benefiting the Soviet Union, a decision was taken and executed concerning the deportation of all the Karachai from the lands on which they lived. In the same period, at the end of December, 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic.

In March, 1944, all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April, 1944, all Balkars were deported to faraway places from the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the republic itself was renamed the Kabardinian Autonomous Republic.

The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also. (Laughter and animation in the hall.)

Not only a Marxist-Leninist but also no man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for inimical activity, including women, children, old people, Communists and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons.

After the conclusion of the patriotic war the Soviet Nation stressed with pride the magnificent victories gained through great sacrifices and tremendous efforts. The country experienced a period of political enthusiasm. The party came out of the war even more united: in the fire of the war party cadres were tempered and hardened. Under such conditions nobody could have even thought of the possibility of some plot in the party.

THE LENINGRAD AFFAIR

And it was precisely at this time that the so-called "Leningrad Affair" was born. As we have now proven, this case was fabricated. Those who innocently lost their lives included Comrades Voznesensky, Kuznetsov, Rodionov, Popkov, and others.

As is known, Voznesensky and Kuznetsov were talented and eminent leaders. Once they stood very close to Stalin. It is sufficient to mention that Stalin made Voznesensky first deputy to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kuznetsov was elected Secretary of the Central Committee. The very fact that Stalin entrusted Kuznetsov with the supervision of the state security organs shows the trust he enjoyed.

How did it happen that these persons were branded as enemies of the people and liquidated?

Facts prove that the "Leningrad Affair" also is the result of willfulness Stalin exercised against party cadres.

Had a normal situation existed in the party's Central Committee and in the Central Committee Political Bureau, affairs of this nature would have been examined there in accordance with party practice, and all pertinent facts assessed; as a result such an affair as well as others would not have happened.

We must state that after the war the situation became even more complicated. Stalin became even more capricious, irritable and brutal; in particular his suspicion grew. His persecution mania reached unbelievable dimensions. Many workers were becoming enemies before his very eyes. After the war Stalin separated himself from the collective even more. Everything was decided by him alone without any consideration for anyone or anything.

This unbelievable suspicion was cleverly taken advantage of by the abject provocateur and vile enemy, Beria, who had murdered thousands of Communists and loyal Soviet people. The elevation of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov allarmed Beria. As we have now proven, it had been precisely Beria who had "suggested" to Stalin the fabrication by him and by his confidants of materials in the form of declarations and anonymous letters, and in the form of various rumors and talks.

The party's Central Committee has examined this so-called "Leningrad Affair"; persons who innocently suffered are now rehabilitated and honor has been restored to the glorious Leningrad party organization. Abakumov and others who had fabricated this affair were brought before a court; their trial took place in Leningrad and they received what they deserved.

The question arises: Why is it that we see the truth of this affair only now, and why did we not do something earlier, during Stalin's life, in order to prevent the loss of innocent lives? It was because Stalin personally supervised the "Leningrad Affair," and the majority of the Political Bureau members did not, at that time, know all of the circumstances in these matters, and could not therefore intervene.

MINGRELIAN 'PLOT' CITED

When Stalin received certain materials from Beria and Abakumov, without examining these slanderous materials, he ordered an investigation of the "affair" of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov. With this their fate was sealed.

Instructive in the same way is the case of the Mingrelian nationalist organization, which supposedly existed in Georgia. As is known, resolutions by the Central Committee, Communist party of the Soviet Union, were made concerning this case in November 1951 and in March 1952. These resolutions were made without prior discussion with the Political Bureau.

Stalin had personally dictated them. They made serious accusations against many loyal Communist. On the basis of falsified documents it was proven that there existed in Georgia a supposedly nationalistic organization whose objective was the liquidation of the Soviet power in that republic with the help of imperialist powers.

In this connection, a number of responsible party and Soviet workers were arrested in Georgia. As was later proven, this was a slander directed against the Georgian party organization.

We know that there have been at times manifestations of local bourgeois nationalism in Georgia as in several other republics. The question arises: Could it be possible that in the period during which the resolutions referred to above were made, nationalist tendencies grew so much that there was a danger of Georgia's leaving the Soviet Union and joining Turkey? (Animation in the hall, laughter.)

This is, of course, nonsense. It is impossible to imagine how such assumptions could enter anyone's mind. Everyone knows how Georgia has developed economically and culturally under Soviet rule.

PROGRESS IN GEORGIA NOTED

Industrial production of the Georgian Republic is twenty-seven times greater than it was before the revolution. Many new industries have arisen in Georgia that did not exist there before the revolution: iron smelting, an oil industry, a machine construction industry, etc. Illiteracy has long since been liquidated, which, in pre-revolutionary Georgia, included 78 per cent of the population.

Could the Georgians, comparing the situation in their republic with the hard situation of the working masses in Turkey, be aspiring to join Turkey? In 1955 Georgia produced eighteen times as much steel a person as Turkey. Georgia produces nine times as much electrical energy a person as Turkey.

According to the available 1950 census, 65 per cent of Turkey's total population are illiterate, and of the women, 80 per cent are illiterate. Georgia has nineteen institutions of higher learning, which have about 39,000 students, this is eight times more than in Turkey (for each 1,000 inhabitants). The prosperity of the working people has grown tremendously in Georgia under Soviet rule.

It is clear that as the economy and culture develop, and as the Socialist consciousness of the working masses in Georgia grows, the source from which bourgeois nationalism draws its strength evaporates.

As it developed, there was no nationalistic organization in Georgia. Thousands of innocent persons fell victim of willfulness and lawlessness. All of this happened under the "genial" leadership of Stalin, "the great son of the Georgian nation," as Georgians liked to refer to Stalin. (Animation in the hall.)

The willfulness of Stalin showed itself not only in decisions concerning the internal life of the country but also in the international relations of the Soviet Union.

The July Plenum of the Central Committee studied in detail the reasons for the development of conflict with Yugoslavia. It was a shameful role which Stalin played here. The "Yugoslav Affair" contained no problems that could not have been solved through party discussions among comrades.

There was no significant basis for the development of this "affair," it was completely possible to have prevented the rupture of relations with that country. This does not mean, however, that the Yugoslav leaders did not make mistakes or did not have shortcomings. But these mistakes and shortcomings were magnified in a monstrous manner by Stalin, which resulted in a break of relations with a friendly country.

I recall the first days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artificially to be blown up. Once, when I came from Kiev to Moscow, I was invited to visit Stalin who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?"

'FALL' OF TITO PLEDGED BY STALIN

Not waiting for my reply he answered: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."

We have dearly paid for this "shaking of the little finger." This statement reflected Stalin's mania for greatness, but he acted just that way: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no Kosior"; "I will shake my little finger once more and Postyshev and Chubar will be no more"; "I will shake my little finger again—and Voznesensky, Kuznetsov and many others will disappear."

But this did not happen to Tito. No matter how much or how little Stalin shook, not only his little finger but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall. Why? The reason was that, in this case of disagreement with the Yugoslav comrades, Tito had behind him a state and a people who had gone through a severe school of fighting for liberty and independence, a people which gave support to its leaders.

You see to what Stalin's mania for greatness led. He had completely lost consciousness of reality; he demonstrated his suspicion and haughtiness not only in relation to individuals in the U. S. S. R., but in relation to whole parties and nations.

We have carefully examined the case of Yugoslavia and have found a proper solution which is approved by the peoples of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia as well as by the working masses of all the people's democracies and by all progressive humanity The liquidation of the abnormal relationship with Yugoslavia was done in the interest of the whole camp of socialism, in the interest of strengthening peace in the whole world.

Let us also recall the "Affair of the Doctor Plotters." (Animation in the hall.) Actually there was no "affair" outside of the declaration of the woman doctor Timashuk, who was probably influenced or ordered by someone (after all, she was an unofficial collaborator of the organs of state security) to write Stalin a letter in which she declared that doctors were applying supposedly improper methods of medical treatment.

Such a letter was sufficient for Stalin to reach an immediate conclusion that there are doctor-plotters in the Soviet Union. He issued orders to arrest a group of eminent Soviet medical specialists. He personally issued advice on the conduct of the investigation and the method of interrogation of the arrested persons.

STALIN THREAT RECALLED

He said the academician, Vinogradov, should be put in chains, another one should be beaten. Present at this congress as a delegate is the Former Minister of State Security, Comrade Ignatiev. Stalin told him curtly, "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head." (Tumult in the hall.)

Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple—beat, beat and, once again, beat.

Shortly after the doctors were arrested we members of the Political Bureau received protocols from the doctors; confessions of guilt. After distributing these protocols Stalin told us, "You are blind like young kittens; what will happen without me? The country will perish because you do not know how to recognize enemies."

The case was so presented that no one could verify the facts on which the investigation was based. There was no possibility of trying to verify facts by contacting those who had made the confessions of guilt.

We felt, however, that the case of the arrested doctors was questionable. We knew some of these people personally because they had once treated us. When we examined this "case" after Stalin's death, we found it to be fabricated from beginning to end.

This ignominous "case" was set up by Stalin; he did not, however, have the time in which to bring it to an end (as he conceived that end), and for this reason the doctors are still alive. Now all have been rehabilitated. They are working in the same places they were working before; they treat top individuals, not excluding members of the Government; they have our full confidence; and they execute their duties honestly, as they did before.

In organizing the various dirty and shameful cases, a very base role was played by the rabid enemy of our party, an agent of a foreign intelligence service — Beria, who had stolen into Stalin's confidence. In what way could this provocateur gain such a position in the party and in the state, so as to become the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and a member of the Central Committee Political Bureau? It has now been established that this villain had climbed up the Government ladder over an untold number of corpses.

Were there any signs that Beria was an enemy of the party? Yes, there were.

KAMINSKY SLAYING IS NOTED

Already in 1937, at a Central Committee Plenum, former People's Commissar of Health, Kaminsky, said that Beria worked for the Mussavat intelligence service. But the Central Committee Plenum had barely concluded when Kaminsky was arrested and then shot.

Had Stalin examined Kaminsky's statement? No, because Stalin believed in Beria, and when Stalin believed in anyone or anything, then no one could say anything that was contrary to his opinion; anyone who would dare to express opposition would have met the same fate as Kaminsky.

There were other signs also. The declaration which Comrade Snegov made at the party's Central Committee is interesting (parenthetically speaking, he was also rehabilitated not long ago, after seventeen years in prison camps). In his declaration Snegov writes:

"In connection with the proposed rehabilitation of the former Central Committee member, Kartvelishvili-Lavrentiev, I have entrusted to the hands of the representative of the Committee of State Security a detailed deposition concerning Beria's role in the disposition of the Kartvelishvili case and concerning the criminal motives by which Beria was guided.

ANOTHER CASE RECALLED

"In my opinion it is indispensable to recall an important fact pertaining to this case and to communicate it to the Central Committee, because I did not consider it as proper to include in the investigation documents.

"On Oct. 30, 1931, at the session of the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks), Kartvelishvili, Secretary of the Trans-Caucasian Krai Committee, made a report. All members of the Executive of the Krai Committee were present; of them I alone am alive.

"During this session J. V. Stalin made a motion at the end of his speech concerning the organization of the Secretariat of the Trans-Caucasian Krai Committee composed of the following: First Secretary Kartvelishvili; Second Secretary Beria (it was then for the first time in the party's history that Beria's name was mentioned as a candidate for a party position).

"Kartvelishvili answered that he knew Beria well and for that reason refused categorically to

(Continued on page 6)

. . . Text of Khrushchev's Speech

(Continued from page 5)

work together with him. Stalin proposed then that this matter be left open and that it be solved in the process of the work itself. Two days later a decision was arrived at that Beria would receive the party post and that Kartvelishvili would be deported from the Trans-Caucasus."

This fact can be confirmed by Comrades Mikoyan and Kaganovich, who were present at that session.

The long unfriendly relations between Kartvelishvili and Beria were widely known. They date back to the time when Comrade Sergo [Ordzhonikidze] was active in the Trans-Caucasus; Kartvelishvili was the closest assistant of Sergo. The unfriendly relationship impelled Beria to fabricate a "case" against Kartvelishvili.

It is a characteristic thing that in this "case" Kartvelishvili was charged with a terroristic act against Beria.

The indictment in the Beria case contains a discussion of his crimes. Some things should, however, be recalled, especially since it is possible that not all delegates to the congress have read this document. I wish to recall Beria's bestial disposition of the cases of Kedrov, Golubiev, and Golubev's adopted mother, Baturina, persons who wished to inform the Central Committee concerning Beria's treacherous activity. They were shot without any trial and the sentence was passed ex-post facto, after the execution.

'OLD COMMUNIST' IS QUOTED

Here is what the old Communist, Comrade Kedrov, wrote to the Central Committee through Comrade Andreyev (Comrade Andreyev was then a Central Committee Secretary):

"I am calling to you for help from a gloomy cell of the Lefortovsky prison. Let my cry of horror reach your ears; do not remain deaf; take me under your protection; please help remove the nightmare of interrogations and show that this is all a mistake.

"I suffer innocently. Please believe me. Time will testify to the truth. I am not an agent-provocateur of the Tsarist Okhrana; I am not a spy; I am not a member of an anti-Soviet organization of which I am being accused on the basis of denunciations. I am also not guilty of any other crimes against the party and the Government. I am an old Bolshevik, free of any stain; I have honestly fought for almost forty years in the ranks of the party for the good and the prosperity of the nation.

"Today I, a 62-year-old man, am being threatened by the investigative judges with more severe, cruel and degrading methods of physical pressure. They [the judges] are no longer capable of becoming aware of their error and of recognizing that their handling of my case is illegal and inpermissible. They try to justify their actions by picturing me as a hardened and raving enemy and are demanding increased repressions. But let the party know that I am innocent and that there is nothing which can turn a loyal son of the party into an enemy, even right up to his last dying breath.

"But I have no way out. I cannot divert from myself the hastily approaching new and powerful blows.

"Everything, however, has its limits. My torture has reached the extreme. My health is broken, my strength and my energy are waning, the end is drawing near. To die in a Soviet prison, branded as a vile traitor to the fatherland —what can be more monstrous for an honest man. And how monstrous all this is! Unsurpassed bitterness and pain grips my heart.

"No! No! This will not happen; this cannot be—I cry. Neither the party, nor the Soviet Government, nor the People's Commissar, L. P. Beria, will permit this cruel irreparable injustice. I am firmly certain that given a quiet, objective examination, without any foul rantings, without any anger and without the fearful tortures, it would be easy to prove the baselessness of the charges. I believe deeply that truth and justice will triumph. I believe. I believe."

The old Bolshevik, Comrade Kedrov, was found innocent by the Military Collegium. But despite this, he was shot at Beria's order. (Indignation in the hall.)

SUICIDE OF ORDZHONIKIDZE

Beria also handled cruelly the family of Comrade Ordzhonikidze. Why? Because Ordzhonikidze had tried to prevent Beria from realizing his shameful plans. Beria had cleared from his way all persons who could possibly interfere with him.

Ordzhonikidze was always an opponent of Beria, which he told Stalin. Instead of examining this affair and taking appropriate steps, Stalin allowed the liquidation of Ordzhonikedze's brother and brought Ordzhonikidze himself to such a state he was forced to shoot himself. (Indignation in the hall.) Such was Beria.

Beria was unmasked by the party's Central Committee shortly after Stalin's death. As a result of the particularly detailed legal proceedings it was established that Beria had committed monstrous crimes and Beria was shot.

The question arises why Beria, who had liquidated tens of thousands of party and Soviet workers, was not unmasked during Stalin's life? He was not unmasked earlier because he had utilized very skillfully Stalin's weaknesses; feeding him with suspicions, he assisted Stalin in everything and acted with his support.

Comrades: The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his "Short Biography," which was published in 1948.

This book is an expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead, of transforming him into an infallible saint, "the greatest leader," "sublime strategist of all times and nations." Finally no other words could be found with which to lift Stalin up to the heavens.

BOOK EDITED BY STALIN

We need not give here examples of the loathsome adulation filling this book. All we need to add is that they all were approved and edited by Stalin personally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft text of the book.

What did Stalin consider essential to write into this book? Did he want to cool the ardor of his flatterers who were composing his "Short Biography." No! He marked the very places where he thought that the praise of his services was insufficient.

Here are some examples characterizing Stalin's activity, added in Stalin's own hand:

"In this fight against the skeptics and capitulators, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and Kamenevites, there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading core of the party . . .* that upheld the great banner of Lenin, rallied the party behind Lenin's behests, and brought the Soviet people into the broad road of industrializing the country and collectivising the rural economy. The leader of this core and the guiding force of the party and the state was Comrade Stalin."

Thus writes Stalin himself! Then he adds:

"Although he performed his task of leader of the party and the people with consummate skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the entire Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit or self-adulation."

Where and when could a leader so praise himself? Is this worthy of a leader of the Marxist-Leninist type? No. Precisely against this did Marx and Engels take such a strong position. This also was always sharply condemned by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

In the draft text of his book appeared the following sentence: "Stalin is the Lenin of today." This sentence appeared to Stalin to be too weak, so in his own handwriting he changed it to read:

"Stalin is the worthy continuer of Lenin's work, or, as it is said in our party, Stalin is the Lenin of today." You see how well it is said, not by the nation but by Stalin himself.

It is possible to give many such self-praising appraisals written into the draft text of that book in Stalin's hand. Especially generously does he endow himself with praises pertaining to his military genius, to his talent for strategy.

I will cite one more insertion made by Stalin concerning the theme of the Stalinist military genius. He writes:

"The advanced Soviet science of war received further development at Comrade Stalin's hands. Comrade Stalin elaborated the theory of the permanently operating factors that decide the issue of wars, of active defense and the laws of counter-offensive and offensive, of the co-operation of all services and arms in modern warfare, of the role of big tank masses and air forces in modern war, and of the artillery as the most formidable of the armed services. At the various stages of the war Stalin's genius found the correct solution that took account of all the circumstance of the situation." (Movement in the hall.)

And further, writes Stalin:

"Stalin's military mastership was displayed both in defense and offense. Comrade Stalin's genius enabled him to divine the enemy's plans and defeat them. The battles in which Comrade Stalin directed the Soviet armies are brilliant examples of operational military skill."

In this manner was Stalin praised as a strategist. Who did this? Stalin himself, not in his role as a strategist but in the role of an author-editor, one of the main creators of his self-adulatory biography.

Such, comrades, are the facts. We should rather say shameful facts.

And one additional fact from the same "Short Biography" of Stalin, As it is known, "The Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" was written by a Commission of the Party Central Committee.

CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL USED

This book, parenthetically, was also permeated with the cult of the individual and was written by a designated group of authors. This fact was reflected in the following formulation on the proof copy of the "Short Biography of Stalin":

A commission of the Central Committee, all-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under the direction of Comrade Stalin and with his most active personal participation, has prepared a "Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks)."

But even this phrase did not satisfy Stalin: the following sentence replaced it in the final version of the "Short Biography":

In 1938 appeared the book, "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Short Course," written by Comrade Stalin and approved by a commission of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks). Add anything more? (Animation in the hall.)

As you see, a surprising metamorphosis changed the work created by a group into a book written by Stalin. It is not necessary to state how and why this metamorphosis took place.

A pertinent question comes to our mind: If Stalin is the author of this book, why did he need to praise the person of historical period of our glorious Communist party solely into an action of "the Stalin genius?"

Did this book properly reflect the efforts of the party in the Socialist transformation of the country, in the construction of Socialist society, in the industrialization and collectivization of the country, and also other steps taken by the party which undeviatingly traveled the path outlined by Lenin? This book speaks principally about Stalin, about his speeches, about his reports. Everything without the smallest exception is tied to his name.

And when Stalin himself asserts that he himself wrote the "Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," this calls at least for amazement. Can a Marxist-Leninist thus write about himself, praising his own person to the heavens?

Or let us take the matter of the Stalin prizes. (Movement in the hall.) Not even the Czars created prizes which they named after themselves.

STALIN PRAISED IN ANTHEM

Stalin recognized as the best a text of the national anthem of the Soviet Union which contains not a word about the Communist party; it contains, however, the following unprecedented praise of Stalin:

"Stalin brought us up in loyalty to the people. He inspired us to great toil and acts."

In these lines of the anthem is the whole educational directional and inspirational activity of the great Leninist party ascribed to Stalin. This is, of course, a clear deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a clear debasing and belittling of the role of the Party. We should add for your information that the Presidium of the Central Committee has already passed a resolution concerning the composition of a new text of the anthem, which will reflect the role of the people, and the role of the party. (Loud, prolonged applause.)

And was it without Stalin's knowledge that many of the largest enterprises and towns were named after him? Was it without his knowledge that Stalin monuments were erected in the whole country — these "memorials to the living?"

It is a fact that Stalin himself had signed on July 2, 1951, a resolution of the U. S. S. R. Council of Ministers concerning the erection on the Volga-Don Canal of an impressive monument to Stalin. On Sept. 4 of the same year he issued an order making thirty-three tons of copper available for the construction of this impressive monument.

Anyone who has visited the Stalingrad area must have seen the huge statue which is being built there, and that on a site which hardly any people frequent. Huge sums were spent to build it at a time when people of this area had lived since the war in huts. Consider yourself, was Stalin right when he wrote in his biography that "* * * he did not allow in himself * * * even a shadow of conceit, pride, or self-adoration?"

At the same time Stalin gave proofs of his lack of respect for Lenin's memory. It is not a coincidence that, despite the decision taken, more than thirty years ago to build a Palace of Soviets as a monument to Vladimir Ilyich, this palace was not built, its construction was always postponed, and the project allowed to lapse.

We cannot forget to recall the Soviet Government resolution of Aug. 14, 1925 concerning "the founding of Lenin prizes for educational work." This resolution was published in the press, but until this day there are no Lenin prizes. This, too, should be corrected. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

During Stalin's life, thanks to known methods which I have mentioned, and quoting facts, for instance, from the "Short Biography" of Stalin—all events were explained as if Lenin played only a secondary role, even during the October Socialist Revolution. In many films and in many literary works, the figure of Lenin was incorrectly presented and inadmissably depreciated.

KHRUSHCHEV CALL FOR TRUTH

Stalin loved to see the film "The Unforgettable Year of 1919," in which he was shown on the steps of an armored train and where he was practically vanquishing the foe with his own sabre. Let Kliment Yefremovich [Voroshilov], our dear friend, find the necessary courage and write the truth about Stalin; after all, he knows how Stalin had fought. It will be difficult for Comrade Voroshilov to undertake this, but it would be good if he did it. Everyone will approve of it, both the people and the party. Even his grandsons will thank him. (Prolonged applause.)

In speaking about the events of the October Revolution and about the Civil War, the impression was created that Stalin always played the main role, as if everywhere and always Stalin had suggested to Lenin what to do and how to do it. However, this is slander of Lenin. (Prolonged applause.)

I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that 99 percent of the persons present here heard and knew very little about Stalin before the year 1924, while Lenin was known to all; he was known to the whole party, to whole nation, from the children up to the graybeards. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

All this has to be thoroughly revised, so that history, literature, and the fine arts properly reflect V. I. Lenin's role and the great deeds of our Communist party and of the Soviet people—the creative people. (Applause.)

Comrades! The cult of the individual has caused the employment of faulty principles in party work and in economic activity. It brought about rude violation of internal party and Soviet democracy, sterile administration, deviations of all sorts, covering up of shortcomings and varnishing of reality. Our nation gave birth to many flatterers and specialists in false optimism and deceit.

We should also not forget that due to the numerous arrests of party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed over-cautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadows and began to show less initiative in their work.

Take, for instance, party and Soviet resolutions. They were prepared in a routine manner, often without considering the concrete situation. This went so far that party workers, even during the smallest sessions, read their speeches. All this produced the danger of formalizing the party and Soviet work and of bureaucratizing the whole apparatus.

Stalin's reluctance to consider life's realities and the fact that he was not aware of the real state of affairs in the provinces can be illustrated by his direction of agriculture.

All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never traveled anywhere, did not meet city and collective farm workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces.

He knew the country and agriculture only from films and these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. And many films so pictured collective farm life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently Stalin thought that it was actually so.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin looked at life differently. He was always close to the people; he used to receive peasant delegates, and often spoke at factory gatherings; he used to visit villages and talk with the peasants.

Stalin separated himself from the people and never went anywhere. This lasted tens of years. The last time he visited a village was in January, 1928, when he visited Siberia in connection with grain deliveries. How then could he have known the situation in the provinces?

And when he was once told during a discussion that our situation on the land was a difficult one and that the situation of cattle breeding and meat production was especially bad, a commission was formed which was charged with the preparation of a resolution called, "Means toward further development of animal breeding in Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes." We worked out this project.

Of course, our proposals of that time did not contain all possibilities, but we did charter ways in which animal breeding on the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes would be raised. We had proposed then to raise the prices of such products to create material incentives for the Kolkhoz, M. T. S. and Sovkhoz workers in the development of cattle breeding. But our project was not accepted and in February, 1953 was laid aside entirely.

What is more, while reviewing this project Stalin proposed that the taxes paid by the Kolkhozes and by the Kolkhoz workers should be raised by 40,000,000,000 rubles. According to him the peasants are well-off and the Kolkhoz worker would need to sell only one more chicken to pay his tax in full.

Imagine what this meant. Certainly 40,000,000,000 rubles is a sum which the Kolkhoz workers did not realize for all the products which they sold to the Government. In 1952, for instance, the Kolhozes and the Kolkhoz workers received 26,280,000,000 rubles for all their products delivered and sold to the Government.

Did Stalin's position then rest on data of any sort whatever? Of course not.

In such cases facts and figures did not interest him. If Stalin said anything, it meant it was so—after all, he was a "genius" and a genius does not need to count, he only needs to look and can immediately tell how it should be. When he expresses his opinion, everyone has to repeat it and to admire his wisdom.

WISDOM OF TAX QUESTIONED

But how much wisdom was contained in the proposal to raise the agricultural tax by 40,000,000,000 rubles? None, absolutely none, because the proposal was not based on an actual assessment of the situation but on the fantastic ideas of a person divorced from reality.

We are currently beginning slowly to work our way out of a difficult agricultural situation. The speeches of the delegates to the Twentieth Congress pleased us all. We are glad that many delegates deliver speeches, that there are conditions for the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan for animal husbandry, not during the period of five years, but within two to three years. We are certain that the commitments of the new Five-Year Plan will be accomplished successfully. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades! If we sharply criticize today the cult of the individual which was so widespread during Stalin's life and if we speak about the many negative phenomena generated by this cult which is so alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, various persons may ask: How could it be? Stalin headed the party and the country for thirty years and many victories were gained during his lifetime. Can we deny this? In my opinion, the question can be asked in this manner only by those who are blinded and hopelessly hypnotized by the cult of the individual, only by those who do not understand the essence of the revolution and of the Soviet state, only by those who do not understand, in a Leninist manner, the role of the party and of the nation in the development of the Soviet society.

The Socialist revolution was attained by the working class and by the poor peasantry with the partial support of middle-class peasants. It was attained by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik party. Lenin's great service consisted of the fact that he created a militant party of the working class, but he was armed with Marxist understanding of the laws of social development, and with the science of proletarian victory in the fight with capitalism, and he steeled this party in the crucible of revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people. During this fight the party consistently defended the interests of the people, became its experienced leader, and led the working masses to power, to the creation of the first Socialist state.

You remember well the wise words of Lenin that the Soviet state is strong because of the awareness of the masses that history is created by the millions and tens of millions of people.

Our historical victories were attained thanks to the organizational work of the party, to the many provincial organizations, and to the self-sacrificing work of our great nation. These victories are the result of the great drive and activity of the nation and of the party as a whole; they are not at all the fruit of the leadership of Stalin, as the situation was pictured during the period of the cult of the individual.

If we are to consider this matter of Marxists and as Leninists, then we have to state unequivocally that the leadership practice which came into being during the last years of Stalin's life became a serious obstacle in the path of Soviet social development.

Stalin often failed for months to take up some unusually important problems concerning the life of the party and of the state whose solution could not be postponed. During Stalin's leadership our peaceful relations with other nations were often threatened, because one-man decisions could cause, and often did cause, great complications.

SOVIET PROGRESS HAILED

In the last years, when we managed to free ourselves of the harmful practice of the cult of the individual and took several proper steps in the sphere of internal and external policies, everyone saw how activity grew before their very eyes, how the creative activity of the broad working masses developed, how favorably all this acted upon the developments of the economy and of culture. (Applause.)

Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the cult of the individual in time? And why is this being done only now?

First of all we have to consider the fact that the members of the Political Bureau viewed these matters in a different way at different times. Initially, many of them backed Stalin as one of the strongest Marxists and his logic, his strength and his will greatly influenced the cadres and party work.

It is known that Stalin, after Lenin's death, especially during the first years, actively fought for Leninism against the enemies of Leninist theory and against those who deviated. Beginning with Leninist theory, the party, with its Central Committee at the head, started on a great scale the work of Socialist industrialization of the country, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution.

At that time Stalin gained great popularity, sympathy and support. The party had to fight those who attempted to lead the country away from the correct Leninist path; it had to fight Trotskyites, Zinovievites and rightists, and the bourgeois nationalists. This fight was indispensable.

Later, however, Stalin, abusing his power more and more, began to fight eminent party and Government leaders and to use terroristic methods against honest Soviet people. As we have already shown, Stalin thus handled such eminent party and government leaders as Kosior, Rudzutak, Eike, Postyshev and many others.

Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression. This characterized the fall of Comrade Postyshev.

In one of his speeches Stalin expressed his dissatisfaction with Postyshev and asked him, "What are you actually?"

Postyshev answered clearly, "I am a Bolshevik, Comrade Stalin, a Bolshevik."

This assertion was at first considered to show a lack of respect for Stalin; later it was considered a harmful act and consequently resulted in Postyshev's annihilation and branding without any reason as a "people's enemy."

In the situation which then prevailed I have talked often with Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin. Once when we two were traveling in a car, he said: "It has happened sometimes that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend. And when he sits with Stalin, he does not know where he will be sent next, home or to jail."

It is clear that such conditions put every member of the Political Bureau in a very difficult situation. And when we also consider the fact that in the last years of the Central Committee plenary session were not convened and that the sessions of the Political Bureau occurred only occasionally, from time to time, then we will understand how difficult it was for any member of the Political Bureau to take a stand against one or another injust or improper procedure, against serious errors and shortcomings in the practices of leadership.

As we have already shown, many decisions were taken either by one person or in a roundabout way, without collective discussions. The sad fate of Political Bureau member, Comrade Voznesensky, who fell victim to Stalin's repressions, is known to all. It is a characteristic thing that the decision to remove him from the Political Bureau was never discussed but was reached in a devious fashion. In the same way came the decision concerning the removal of Kuznetsov and Rodionov from their posts.

The importance of the Central Committee's Political Bureau was reduced and its work was disorganized by the creation within the Political Bureau of various commissions—the so-called "quintets," "sextets," "septets" and "novenaries." Here is, for instance, a resolution of the Political Bureau of Oct. 3, 1946:

Stalin's Proposal:

"1. The Political Bureau Commission for Foreign Affairs ("Sextet") is to concern itself in the future, in addition to foreign affairs, also with matters of internal construction and domestic policy.

"2. The Sextet is to add to its roster the Chairman of the State Commission of Economic Planning of the U. S. S. R., Comrade Voznesensky, and is to be known as a Septet.

"Signed: Secretary of the Central Committee, J. Stalin."

What a terminology of a card player! (Laughter in the hall.) It is clear that the creation within the Political Bureau of this type of commissions—"quintets," "sextets," "septets," and "novenaries,"—was against the principle of collective leadership. The result of this was that some members of the Political Bureau were in this way kept away from participation in reaching the most important state matters.

One of the oldest members of our party, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, found himself in an almost impossible situation. For several years he was actually deprived of the right of participation in Political Bureau sessions. Stalin forbade him to attend the Political Bureau sessions and to receive documents. When the Political Bureau was in session and Comrade Voroshilov heard about it, he telephoned each time and asked whether he would be allowed to attend. Sometimes Stalin permitted it, but always showed his dissatisfaction.

VOROSHILOV UNDER SUSPICION

Because of his extreme suspicion, Stalin toyed also with the absurd and ridiculous suspicion that Voroshilov was an English agent. (Laughter in the hall.) It's true, an English agent. A special tapping device was installed in his home to listen to what was said there. Indignation in the hall.)

By unilateral decision Stalin had also separated one other man from the work of the Political Bureau—Andrei Andreyevich Andreyev. This was one of the most unbridled acts of willfulness.

Let us consider the first Central Committee Plenum after the Nineteenth Party Congress when Stalin, in his talk at the plenum, characterized Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov and Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan and suggested that these old workers of our party were guilty of some baseless charges. It is not excluded that had Stalin remained at the helm for another several months, Comrades Molotov and Mikoyan would probably have not delivered any speeches at this congress.

Stalin evidently had plans to finish off the old members of the Political Bureau. He often stated that Political Bureau members should be replaced by new ones.

His proposal, after the Nineteenth Congress concerning the selection of twenty-five persons to the Central Committee Presidium, was aimed at the removal of the old Political Bureau members and the bringing in of less experienced persons so that these would extol him in all sorts of ways.

We can assume that this was also a design for the future annihilation of the old Political Bureau members and in this way a cover for all shameful acts of Stalin, acts which we are now considering.

Comrades! In order not to repeat errors of the past, the Central Committee has declared itself resolutely against the cult of the individual. We consider that Stalin was excessively extolled. However, in the past Stalin doubtlessly performed great services to the party, to the working class and to the international workers' movement.

This question is complicated by the fact that all this that we have just discussed was done during Stalin's life under his leadership and with his concurrence; here Stalin was convinced that this was necessary for the defense of the interests of the working classes against the plotting of the enemies and against the attack of the imperialist camp.

He saw this from the position of the interest of the working class, of the interest of the laboring people, of the interest of the victory of socialism and communism. We cannot say that these were the deeds of a giddy despot. He considered that this should be done in the interest of the party; of the working masses, in the name of the defense of the revolution's gains. In this lies the whole tragedy!

THE NAMING OF TOWNS

Comrades! Lenin had often stressed that modesty is an absolutely integral part of a real Bolshevik. Lenin himself was the living personification of the greatest modesty. We cannot say that we have been following this Leninist example in all respects. It is enough to point out that many towns, factories and industrial enterprises, Kolkozes and Sovkhozes, Soviet institutions and cultural institutions have been referred to by us with a title—if I may express it so—of private property of the names of these or those government or party leaders who were still active and in good health. Many of us participated in the action of assigning our names to various towns, districts, factories and kolkhozes. We must correct this. (Applause.)

But this should be done calmly and slowly. The Central Committee will discuss this matter and consider it carefully to prevent errors and excesses. I can remember how the Ukraine learned about Kosior's arrest. The Kiev radio used to start its programs thus: "This is Radio (in the name of) Kosior." When one day the programs began without naming Kosior, everyone was quite certain that something had happened to Kosior, that he probably had been arrested.

Thus, if today we begin to remove the signs everywhere and to change names, people will think, that these comrades in whose honor the given enterprises, kolkhozes or cities are named, also met some bad fate and that they have also been arrested. (Animation in the hall.)

How is the authority and the importance of this or that leader judged? On the basis of how many towns, industrial enterprises and factories, kholkozes and sovkhozes carry his name. Is it not about time that we eliminate this "private property" and "nationalize" the factories, the industrial enterprises, the kolkhozes and the Sovkhozes? (Laughter, applause, voices: "That is right.") This will benefit our cause. After all the cult of the individual is manifested also in this way.

We should in all seriousness consider the question of the cult of the individual. We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits; we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes. I think that the delegates to the Congress will understand and assess properly all these proposals.

PARTY POLICY PROPOSED

Comrades: We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all; we must draw the proper conclusions con-

(Continued on page 8)

*Ommited portion of list as found in "A Short Biography," by Joseph Stalin, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1949, P. 89, is as follows: " . . . consisting of Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Kuibyshev, Frunze, Dzerzhinsky, Kaganovich, Ordzhonikidze, Kirov, Yaroslavsky, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Shvernik Zhdanov, Shkiryatov and others."

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...Trotskyism Vindicated

(Continued from page 1)

interests that Stalin did: the interests of the bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union.

In tracing the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism, from its point of origin in the Soviet Union to its world-wide development, Communist workers seeking the truth will find that the rise of a privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was the social foundation for the formation of the Stalinist faction in the Communist Party of the USSR.

Lenin was keenly aware of this rising bureaucracy in the Soviet government and in the party. A study of the available documents will show that in the last period of his life he proposed a collaboration with Trotsky to open fire against the bureaucratic menace: in particular, at its main representative — Joseph Stalin.

Thus, already in 1922-23 Stalin was, in Lenin's eyes, the personification of the growing bureaucratic caste. To Lenin it was a question of life or death for the Soviet Republic whether the proletarian base of the party would succeed in controlling and eventually destroying the bureaucratic tendencies, or, whether the bureaucracy would become uncontrolled and destroy the party and place the revolution itself in jeopardy.

Issue of Party Democracy

In his last Testament, Lenin, worried about the rapid growth of Stalin's bureaucratic clique power, called for the removal of Stalin from his post as General Secretary of the party. At the same time he was preparing to come out at the 12th party congress in open struggle against Stalin's bureaucratic and chauvinist conduct in relation to the national question.

With Lenin's death Trotsky continued the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic formation. A deep factional struggle developed and the first issue of the faction struggle was party democracy.

Khrushchev continues to falsify history when he claims that the Trotskyist left opposition was defeated by "ideological means." The facts show otherwise. From the beginning the Stalinist faction employed the method of economic pressure, including the expulsion and firing of Communist workers adhering to the opposition, frame-ups and amalgams, including the "uncovering" of "secret plots" with agents of the White Guards and the class enemy. The first steps were minor when compared to the wholesale murder and terror later employed but they were unmistakable as a symptom of bureaucratic degeneration.

Who was politically right in the early struggle over the issue of party democracy? The Trotskyist Left Opposition, which warned that the party was being strangled in the grip of a bureaucratic parasitic growth on the body of the first workers' state in history? Or Stalin, who was busy advancing the faction on which the bureaucratic caste had fixed its hopes? Who was politically right in that fight? Let the Communist workers judge in the light of history.

Trotsky and Industrialization

Khrushchev also lies when he credits Stalin with leadership in the struggle to industrialize the Soviet Union and declares the Trotskyist political line would have prevented the economic successes of the workers state. Everything is exactly in reverse as far as the facts are concerned.

It was Trotsky and the Left-Opposition that proposed the first five-year plan and a campaign for collectivization of agriculture. The faction of Stalin, which at that time leaned for social support on the wealthy peasantry (Kulaks) and the petty-businessmen (Nepmen), opposed Trotsky's concept of industrialization as "utopian." The Stalinists ridiculed in particular Trotsky's proposal for the Dniepestroy dam. The opposition was derided as "super-industrializers" and were accused of "underestimating the peasantry."

The Central Struggle

But events bore out the correctness of the Left Opposition's viewpoint. Even after Stalin succeeded in expelling the proletarian wing of the party headed by Trotsky, he was forced to adopt the industrialization program of the opposition. However, in the hands of the bureaucracy industrialization was now to be carried out at the cost of terrible sacrifices of the working class. Untold waste resulted from the caprice, ignorance, preoccupation with feathering their own nests, sloth and mismanagement of the bureaucratic regime.

Read Khrushchev's description of how Stalin directed the war and you get an inkling of how the drive for industrialization and collectivization was conducted. A' the great progress that took place wa despite Stalin and Stalinism and attests t the enormous social power unleashed b the socialist revolution in October 1917.

The central struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism was over the question o "socialism in one country." In this newly discovered theory the bureaucratic cast found the expression of its hatred for th traditions of the October revolution. Thi tradition oppressed them. It cast a crue light on their petty scramble for materia privilege and power. "Socialism in one country" meant the abandonment of the perspective of international socialist revolution which to the bureaucracy was a diversion from the main issue — the strengthening of their own power, prestige and revenues.

The practical consequences of the new national, conservative, bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union for the fate of the world revolution was incalculable. Stalinism strangled the independence and inner-democratic life of the Communist parties in all countries. Stalin used his powerful apparatus to destroy these parties as viable revolutionary instruments of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. Pliant functionaries, ready to carry out the orders of the Stalinist power in the Kremlin, replaced genuine revolutionary leaders.

Moreover, Stalin used the Communist parties as pawns in his diplomatic maneuvers with imperialism. Khrushchev told only part of the story when he described Stalin's self-evaluation as a genius military strategist and the terrible consequences in terms of workers' lives. Stalin played with revolutions in the same way, sacrificing the proletariat of Spain for example to the completely illusory advantages of diplomatic arrangements with the capitalist "democracies," who were also content to watch the Spanish proletariat drown in a fascist bloodbath.

Who Fought for Leninism

The bitter consequences of the theory of socialism in one country are spelled out in the terrible defeats of the working class in one revolutionary situation after another. In all these events the Trotskyists fought for a revolutionary Leninist policy exposing the blunders and betrayals of Stalinism. In this way and in this way only could the future reconstitution of the world vanguard revolutionary party be prepared.

Communist workers and youth seeking to prepare themselves for revolutionary events will find no other arsenal of Marxist strategy and tactics than the works of Trotsky during the epoch of Stalinist reaction.

The struggle continues in every country to this very day. The basic policies of the Communist parties were shaped by the rule of Stalinism. Under Stalinism the class struggle doctrine of Marx and Lenin has been perverted and distorted into its opposite. Here in the U.S. we witness the debasement of Leninism in the spectacle of the Communist Party leaders trying to pass off their support of the Democratic Party — in the name of Lenin.

Politics of Stalinism

The politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet union is the politics of class collaboration. The bureaucracy, like every petty-bourgeois formation, wishes to mediate between the basic class forces and maintain its position at the summit of Soviet society. As long as it can maintain its parasitic position it will declare the "irrevocable triumph of socialism" has been achieved in the Soviet Union and it will call for peaceful coexistence with capitalism in the rest of the world.

But the march of world revolutionary forces are stronger than these aspirations of the bureaucracy. The power of social revolution and colonial revolt has been mounting since World War II. The new world situation has already put capitalism at an enormous disadvantage. The reverberations of this process within the Soviet Union are to be found precisely in the frantic moves of the bureaucracy to destroy the Stalin cult and yield concession after concession to the Soviet workers.

The Soviet workers emerged from the war feeling a new confidence and power. They are aware of the world upsurge against capitalism. They are showing in many ways that they will not tolerate the bureaucracy in the Soviet union for long. They are opening a new stage in the Russian revolution. This new stage must culminate in a political revolution against the Stalinist regime which will provide a new and irresistible impetus to the world socialist revolution.

UAW Past Tailored to Fit Reuther's Needs

By Harry Ring

The United Automobile Workers union was the most dynamic symbol of the great uprising of the industrial workers during the depression-ridden Thirties. On June 3, the UAW opened an eight-day period of official celebration of the "founding convention of the UAW which was held April 27, 1936 at South Bend, Indiana. "This is a proper occasion to review the origin and development of a union that continues to play a key role in the American labor movement.

Although the UAW leaders now date the founding of the union to the April 1936 convention, the UAW was chartered by the AFL as an international union at a founding convention in August, 1935, before the CIO existed.

The June, 1956, issue of the United Automobile Worker, the UAW's paper, describes the historic milestones of the rise of the UAW as interpreted by its present leadership. This "official" history misrepresents certain important phases of the union's development and omits others.

CORRECTION IN DATE

The struggles that shaped the basic character of the UAW and distinguished it for many years date back not to 1936 but to 1934. These two vital years of 1934 and 1935 are referred to only incidentally, and then in distorted fashion, in this official version of the union's history.

Reuther and his lieutenants try to conceal from today's membership the fact that the UAW waged its founding battles largely under the leadership of radicals, including the Trotskyists, Stalinists and Socialists. The union was built in fierce struggle against the class-collaborationist AFL bureaucracy and the infant union's internal democracy helped assure its victory over the AFL officialdom.

Most of the present-day UAW leaders, including President Walter Reuther, were not associated with these early battles. They did not come on to the national scene until after the UAW was established as an international union.

Two outstanding strikes, both centered in Toledo, laid the foundation stones of the UAW. First was the epic Toledo Auto-Lite strike of May 1934, which culminated in a six-day pitched battle between the Toledo workers and the National Guard.

AUTO-LITE STRIKE

The Auto-Lite strike was being strangled by a no-picketing injunction when the leaders of the Lucas County (Toledo) Unemployed League, Sam Pollock and Ted Selander, advised the judge in writing that they intended to picket the plant in defiance of his ban. Both unemployed leaders were associated with the American Workers Party, which was soon to merge with the Trotskyists to form what was to become the Socialist Workers Party. Their defiance of the injunction rallied tens of thousands to a titanic battle that won a signed contract and the first great victory in the auto industry.

Auto unionization spread to the Toledo Chevrolet plant. The workers, led by Trotskyists, struck on April 1, 1935. The rank-and-file strike leaders sought to extend the strike, but the AFL officials blocked its spread. Francis Dillon, William Green's personal representative, by threatening to yank the union's charter, finally forced the strikers to accept a settlement without an actual signed contract.

Nevertheless, for the first time in its history, GM was forced to recognize a union. It made a public stipulation, announcing that the corporation would meet with a union committee, rehire all strikers and raise wages. This union victory helped pave the way for the great GM strike of 1936-37.

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

In 1935, the auto workers also began the fight to establish the kind of internal union structure necessary to advance the cause of industrial unionism. At the 1935 convention, a great battle for union democracy took place, in which the delegates sought to oust Francis Dillon who had been appointed their president by William Green. They were forced to beat a temporary retreat. But the way was soon opened for them to overthrow the craft union despots with the formation in November, 1935, of the CIO.

The present UAW leaders want to give credit for the founding of the union and its subsequent victories, at least in part, to their Democratic Party hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt. But it was the moral and material aid extended by the CIO, headed by John L. Lewis, which gave the impetus for the expansion of the auto workers union in 1936-7. The April 1936 UAW convention successfully defied Dillon and elected its own top officers. Several months later the UAW formally affiliated with the CIO.

Perhaps the most significant single event at the April 1936 convention was the political action resolution adopted by the delegates. This resolution called for the formation of a labor party and exposed the anti-labor actions of the Roosevelt administration. The politically conservative leadership of the CIO intervened with a plea to the delegates to support Roosevelt. The labor party resolution was finally adopted, but with inclusion of a hotly-debated amendment to support Roosevelt in 1936.

THE SITDOWN

When the GM strike broke out a month after the Nov. 1936 elections, Roosevelt not only did nothing to aid the strikers, he actually tried to stab them in the back.

The GM strike was a rank and file uprising. During this strike the sitdown tactic reached its most effective peak. The stronghold of the strikers was in Flint. CIO President John L. Lewis backed the sitdowners publicly and when Roosevelt proposed that the Flint strikers leave the plant in return for a one month contract, Lewis coldly rejected this outrageous proposition.

The first reference to Walter Reuther in Edward Levinson's book, Labor on the March, describing the rise of the CIO, tells about him leading a contingent of 500 from his amalgamated West Side local in Detroit to aid the Flint strikers.

Following the GM victory, the UAW consolidated its forces in other leading companies, such as Chrysler. In April 1941 the union toppled Ford with a tremendous strike.

INTERNAL UNION FIGHT

This period also was marked by growth of an unprincipled factional struggle for power among the top UAW leaders. Reuther displayed real talent for the slipperiest kind of footwork in internal union fights. In 1937, he was lined up with the so-called Unity Caucus along with the Stalinists. Homer Martin, then UAW president, tried to maintain dictatorial power by red-baiting attacks on union militants and radicals, including Reuther himself, then a member of the Socialist Party. In 1939, Martin defected to the AFL. The overwhelming majority of the auto workers renewed their pledge of loyalty to the CIO and elected R. J. Thomas to replace Martin as president.

At the UAW's 1941 convention, it was Reuther who introduced an amendment to the union constitution that for the first time deprived members of their union rights on the grounds of political belief. The Reuther amendment denied "communists" the right to hold union office.

The official account of this period curiously omits Roosevelt's breaking of the North American Aviation strike in June 1941. The UAW leaders, including Reuther, covered up for Roosevelt when he sent federal troops to smash the picket-lines.

With U. S. entry into World War II, the entire top UAW leadership, from Reuther through the Stalinists, combined to impose the no-strike pledge the wage freeze and the speedup on the workers. By the time of the union's 1944 convention the auto workers were in open revolt against the no-strike pledge. It took the combined leadership five days to hammer down the ranks and narrowly defeat a resolution calling for the scrapping of the no-strike pledge. Reuther's tricky maneuvers helped defeat the resolution by a slim margin.

REUTHER ELECTED

Reuther moved to rehabilitate his damaged reputation by taking leadership of the post-war GM strike, which his factional opponents and the Stalinists opposed. As a result of the "one-at-a-time" policy the strike stretched out for 113 days but ended in victory. The UAW convention in March 1946, while the GM strike was still on, elected Reuther to the union presidency.

From this point on, Reuther moved ruthlessly to consolidate his machine control, weaken the constitutional provisions for union democracy and stifle the militancy of the rank and file. In 1950, Reuther signed his notorious five-year GM pact. Hardly was the ink dry, when Truman's "police action" in Korea began and prices shot up. By 1953, the UAW had to invoke the principle of the "living agreement" in order to break the chains of the five-year contract.

When the 1955 spring contract talks began automation and unemployment had become pressing issues. Many union members, including Ford Local 600, advocated the program of the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Reuther had attacked this program at the 1953 convention as "communist" and put over his so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage plan. The new three-year GM contract contained a GAW plan only "in principle," providing for a maximum of six months unemployment insurance supplements, averaging between seven and eight dollars a week.

With the contract less than a year old, the auto corporations this spring started mass layoffs. But those fired before May 2 will receive no supplemental benefits at all. About 90 percent of those now laid off are not covered and funds are available for about a months payment for those covered.

Reuther's demagogy and fine sounding "plans" enabled him to rise to the top of the UAW. But his radicalism is in the long, dead past. He now whoops it up for capitalism and is working with might and main to corral votes for the Democrats. He red-baits more fiercely than Homer Martin red-baited him in the Thirties.

But the facts of life are teaching the auto workers many vital lessons. Their great founding tradition of union democracy and militancy will be recalled and inspire them anew. As they showed the way during the heroic rise of CIO industrial unionism, they have the opportunity to lead in the next great forward step of American labor by carrying through the project posed at their convention 20 years ago — the building of labor's own political party.

How the UAW Was Built

A scene during one of the historic UAW sitdown strikes in 1937. During this turbulent period workers in the auto and other basic industries won recognition for their new industrial unions by the militant new strategy of occupying the plants until their demands were met.

Ford Local Debates Civil Rights

DETROIT — The Negro struggle in the South is producing political repercussions all over the country. It has exposed the liberal Democrats like Adlai Stevenson as fakers who give lip-service to civil rights but refuse to fight the segregationist forces in their own party. And it is uncovering a number of Adlai Stevensons right inside the labor movement, even among labor leaders who have been counted as progressive on this issue.

Take Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers, for example. In his new book, "Negroes on the March," Daniel Guerin writes that since its formation Local 600 "has occupied a high place among American trade unions for its record of harmonious race relations and of bringing Negroes into the leadership."

Relatively speaking, that's true although if Negroes share in the local leadership it's not because anyone "brought" them there but because they represent about a quarter of the membership and fought for and won positions of leadership.

But even in Local 600 the new stage in the Negro struggle has produced tensions, conflicts and divisions between those who mean business on civil rights and those who don't want to do any more than they have to.

A RABID RACIST

The big Ford Rouge plant and local 600 are both situated in Dearborn, and the mayor of Dearborn is Orville Hubbard. The word "vicious" is often overused in radical papers, but there really is no other word to describe Hubbard. He is the most vicious racist holding any public office in the North, a genuine counterpart of Eastland.

Like other northern racists who are emboldened by the growing attacks on the Negro movement as "extremist," Hubbard has become more outspoken lately. The Montgomery Advertiser, as part of its campaign to "justify" Jim Crow in the South, got Hubbard to grant it an interview which has been hailed by segregationists everywhere.

Hubbard not only declared that he is "for complete segregation one million per cent on all levels," but he also boasted gleefully that Dearborn is lily-white, thanks to his policy of preventing Negroes from moving in.

The General Council of Local 600 voted unanimously to authorize its leadership to prepare a statement denouncing Hubbard. A statement was prepared by one of President Carl Stellato's aides and adopted by the executive board in April.

The Militant has called the statement "shockingly mild," and that's a mild way of putting it. The statement spoke of "an alleged anti-American statement purportedly" made by Hubbard and reaffirmed its traditional support of traditional civil rights proposals regardless of who may oppose them, "whether it be Senator Eastland, Mayor Hubbard or ex-Governor Talmadge."

As weak as dishwater, the statement even added: "However we will not get into the luxury of personal arguments with those who, as is their right, differ with us on this matter, since personal arguments will not establish civil rights. Civil rights can only be established firmly by the enactment and enforcement of the proper laws and the education of the people of this nation to accept and conform to such laws," etc.

NOT PERSONAL DISPUTE

But Negro and white militants in the local don't think their differences with Hubbard are a "personal argument," and they know the local has adopted a hundred statements much stronger than this one on civil rights developments in the South. Pressure began to grow for a stronger stand, and the local's Fair Employment Practices Committee drew up a stronger report on Hubbard and presented it to the General Council meeting on May 13.

"It is our firm belief," said the FEP report, "that an issue can never be resolved by running away from it, or by taking a 'hands off' policy." It proposed that Hubbard "should be answered bluntly and straightforwardly by Local 600. . . The issue is clear as stated by Walter Reuther when he said, 'There is no room in the Democratic Party for Eastland and labor'; we in Local 600 say 'There is no room in Dearborn for both Hubbard and Local 600 . . . Hubbard must go.'"

The committee added a "solemn warning" to the leaders and members of the local: "There is no longer a middle ground; you are either for the Constitution of the United States or for Jim Crow. Now is the time for Local 600 as in the past, to take a clear, concise, clean-cut position and to throw its full weight on the side of democracy and freedom to help remove the ugly scar of 'Hubbardism.'"

SHY OF FIGHT

The same kind of report, if it was directed against Eastland, would surely pass unanimously in the General Council. But Hubbard is closer than Eastland; opening a real fight against him would take more than resolutions and talk; and the leadership of Local 600, despite its reaffirmations of civil rights in general, is not at all eager to engage in a fight with Hubbard.

This became plain when Stellato urged the Council to reject the FEP Committee's report. But it took a lot of doing, and he had to bring considerable pressure to bear to get a slight majority. The vote was 67 against the report to 57 for it; even two of the officers disregarded Stellato's plea.

The breach in the General Council was so wide that Stellato felt compelled in the next issue of Ford Facts to defend himself. His administration, he said, doesn't have to apologize for its stand on civil rights; its original statement he claimed, was "forthright"; he said he had opposed the FEP report as an "unnecessary and unwarranted attack on the officers and membership" by allegedly inferring that they were "running away" from the issue.

NO MIDDLE GROUND

"This was not a vote for or against civil rights — it was a vote of confidence in the local administration and its policy," he declared. Anyhow, that's what he tried to turn it into, like many another union bureaucrat who attempts to bofog issues when members stand up to vote against him. But even as a vote of confidence in the Stellato leadership it was not impressive because his majority was the smallest he has received on any major issue in Local 600 for several years.

Stellato got his majority, and Hubbard must be breathing easier. But that doesn't end the issue. The FEP Committee was completely correct when it said this is an issue you can't evade. Adlai Stevenson is learning that. And the labor leaders are going to learn it too. Either you fight Jim Crow or you lend it assistance, passively or actively. There is no middle ground, and those who try to stand on it will be swept aside with the contempt they merit.

UAW Local Rejects Non-'Red' Oath

Members of Local 424, United Auto Workers in Buffalo, recently defeated a resolution that would have required officers, committeemen and convention delegates to sign that they did not belong to groups on the Attorney-General's subversive list. According to the May 19 Labor's Daily, the local was smeared as CP infiltrated in the John F. Noto Smith Act trial and officers capitulated to the witch-hunt pressure.

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Defend the NAACP

An important item in the highly organized white supremacist campaign to maintain and extend Jim Crow in the United States is the plan to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The action of Alabama's Attorney General John Patterson on June 1st in obtaining a court injunction to stop "further activity" by the NAACP in that state was only one in a whole series of legislative, judicial and administrative steps by southern states to ban the organization.

In some states the NAACP has already been labeled subversive, and its members barred from holding public office. In others, legislation is either being enacted or proposed to require registration of members with state police agencies, or to legalize other forms of persecution and penalization of those who support its program.

These measures aim to destroy the most authoritative national organization through which colored people in this country attempt to utilize the so-called democratic processes in order to win equal rights. The NAACP should have the support of every defender of civil liberties in its struggle to maintain its legality.

The charge against the NAACP by the southern reactionaries is that the organization is subversive, that it aims to overthrow their "way of life," that it advocates illegal actions (opposition to segregation laws), that it "foments racial strife."

In the past, when the NAACP has been called subversive, some of the leaders of the organization have grabbed at an unprincipled defense formula: They have accepted the witch hunters premise that unorthodox or anti-capitalist political views are subversive. They held it permissible to restrict the civil liberties of persons and organizations that hold such views; but protested with righteous indignation that the NAACP is completely loyal to the American way of life — the capitalist system — and therefore should not be attacked as subversive.

That was wrong on many counts, but there are three that are particularly pertinent to the present situation. First, civil liberties, as many of us in the NAACP have said repeatedly, are indivisible. By granting the government the right to restrict civil rights for those wtih unpopular economic or political views, NAACP leaders have weakened their case against the "right" of state governments to restrict the civil rights of those with unpopular social views.

Second, by accepting the validity of the arbitrary federal and state subversive lists instead of fighting them, NAACP leaders failed to teach their members how to fight the present attack.

Third, by accepting the limitation on freedom of political opinions, associations and aims imposed by the subversive lists, NAACP leaders sold out the right of Negroes, as well as others, to hold radical views.

In the South, today, opposition to segregation is subversive, radical, and, from the viewpoint of the ruling class, foments racial strife. The right to hold radical views on integration, to support associations to foster them, the attempt to abolish (or change) existing institutions by political action — these are precisely the rights the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must defend.

The NAACP must take a forthright stand on these issues, saying "if this be subversion, make the most of it!"

Maritime Hiring Halls

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, June 3 — The Taft-Hartley act is about to claim another victim — the West Coast maritime hiring hall. Ever since the bloody waterfront battles of 1934 West Coast seamen have been dispatched to ships from their own hiring halls on the basis of how long they were out of work. Now all this is threatened.

Unfair labor practices charges have been filed against the Sailors Union of the Pacific in five separate regional offices of the National Labor Relations Board. The charges directly attack hiring procedures which have been in effect for over 20 years. At present only members can register for jobs in the union hiring hall. This procedure is specifically banned by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Precedent for the present drive to break the West Coast hiring halls was established when maritime unions on the East Coast bowed to the Taft-Hartley provisions and opened their halls to non-union seamen. The East Coast unions revised their hiring practices to conform with Taft-Hartley. They allowed non-union men to register for jobs but set up a system of priorities based on "seniority" which in effect barred most non-members from shipping. However this rule also has an adverse affect on the newer members of the union by establishing a sort of job trust for older members, and opened the door for all the old abuses that used to exist in the fink hall days. The principle that the man longest out of work was entitled to the first job available is no longer in force.

The present NLRB cases arose directly from the long, bitter fight, between the now defunct National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards and Harry Lundeberg's Sailors Union of the Pacific for jurisdiction over the stewards department on West Coast ships. Last year Lundeberg was able to win a rigged NLRB election and drive the NUMCS out of business.

Immediately after winning the election Ed Tunner, International Representative for the Seafarers International Union, stewards department, announced that former members of the NUMCS would be allowed to use the hiring facilities of his union. Apparently he has not lived up to his promise because it is members of the defunct union who filed the NLRB unfair labor charges.

If the NLRB charges are sustained against the West Coast Sailors, and that seems likely, it will be one more defeat for the rank and file seamen in their struggle to maintain equal shipping rights. Any breach in the rotary system spells doom for job equality for rank and file seamen. A Taft-Hartley victory over the hiring hall makes it fairly simple for the union bureaucracy, in league with the shipping companies, to practice favoritism and keep union militants off the ships.

Bus Boycott Solid in Florida; 6-Month Alabama Fight Firm

By Henry Gitano

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., June 6 — A disciplined boycott by this city's 14,400 Negroes has halted the buses and unified the Negro people her in a powerful struggle for their rights.

The protest was touched off when two Negro co-eds of Florida A & M University were arrested May 26 after demanding a refund of their fare rather than bow to segregation by vacating their seats. The following night a cross was burnt in front of their home. Thus, Tallahassee is reinforcing the 6-month bus battle of Montgomery, Ala., where I attended an inspiring mass meeting two nights ago. A local cab driver said: "It's remarkable. It looks like my people grew up overnight."

THREE DEMANDS

Tallahassee's Inter-Civic Council, set up to lead the protest, released the following proposals yesterday:

1. "Since the present bus seating arrangement is economically unsound, humiliating, arbitrary, inequitable, inconvenient and morally unjustifiable; **all bus passengers shall have the right to sit wherever they choose on any bus or buses.**

2. "Since people of all races, by their patronage contribute to the support of the bus company, **people of all races shall have an opportunity to work for the bus company in various capacities.**"

3. "That all bus drivers be constantly reminded of their never-ending obligations to render **courteous service and equitable treatment to all passengers, regardless of race, creed, or color.**"

It took the city commission ten minutes to unanimously reject these proposals and accept the bus company's petition to discontinue the runs along two routes.

But concessions by the city commission were printed in the local Sunday afternoon press. They included "first come, first served" within the framework of segregation, taking applications for Negro drivers and a policy of courtesy.

MEETING'S REPLY

Last Sunday night at an Inter-Civic Council mass meeting of more than a thousand Rev. C. K. Steele, Council president, announced that the council had received no copy of the city commission's statement. He added that "we know what we want and they know what we want." This was greeted with wild applause. A motion was made from the floor that this demand means: When you pay your fare, you can sit anywhere you want. A vote was taken. "All those in favor, aye" — the walls fairly shook.

The council announced there would be no settlement behind closed doors. All decisions would be made through mass meetings.

Rev. K. S. Dupont, council vice-president, told the mass meeting of slighting remarks about newly-arrived men leading this struggle. "If I'd been here 50 years and hadn't done anything about it, I'd be ashamed. Methuselah lived a thousand years waiting to die, without doing anybody any good."

POLICE INTIMIDATION

Rev. Steele reported being arrested for speeding and passing a stop sign while driving a vehicle in the car pool set up by the boycotters. He pleaded not guilty and expressed the hope that some of his friends would show up with him. He assured everyone that Rev. Damon would be there, since he'd been arrested by this same cop three times in one day. Rev. Steele declared that this illegal intimidation will be challenged and urged everyone to register as part of the battle for first-class citizenship.

An offering was taken up, and all, singing, got up by sections, walked past the front, made their donations and returned. $690 was collected while hymns were sung.

CAR POOL ORGANIZED

The Inter-Civic transportation committee is headed by Dan Speed, whose grocery store serves as dispatching center for the car pool from 6 AM to 10 PM. The telephone is the nerve center. Drivers, those needing rides, reporters, attorneys, leaders of the movement, maintain contact. Through the glass window can be seen the volunteer drivers — workers, pastors, housewives, students. From 6 to 8:30 AM there are 27 pick-up stations with 43 registered cars.

Most of those in the car pool organize themselves right in their neighborhoods. Speed estimates that 200 cars not registered with him operate as pick-up vehicles. They follow the regular bus routes.

The local radio reported the boycott 100% effective. I observed bus after bus empty, with an occasional one carrying a lone passenger. Many walked.

On Monday, June 4, the bus company petitioned the city commission to abandon the two runs in the Negro community because most of the "patrons on said routes have voluntarily ceased to use the bus service."

In Montgomery, like in Tallahassee, there is no more fear. On June 4 Montgomery's Holt Street Baptist Church was packed. Brave men and women were jammed into the hall, entrances, stairways, outside the windows, and in the basement. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, announced that this was a six-month anniversary celebration. "We've gone a long, long way, and we've got a long, long way to go to get our first-class citizenship. Nothing will stop us." "Nothing, Lord, nothing," was the mass response.

"Injunctions against our struggle can't stop us. They can't enjoin the forces of justice," said Rev. King. "No Lord, no they can't," was the reply from a thousand voices.

"This is not a drama with one actor, but with more than 50,000 actors. On the 5th of December we marched forth and we marched well," said Dr. King. He paid tribute to courageous Rosa Parks who started the protest. "There's a point beyond which human endurance can go. Rosa Parks was the spark that lit the flames. These flames have spread to Tallahassee." There was a thunderous applause at mention of Tallahassee.

REGULAR NEWSLETTER

The publication of a regular newsletter with factual accounts of the current MIA situation was announced, beginning next week.

An offering was taken up. The chair chanted: "Just a little talk with Jesus makes it right all right. Don't expect to get the journey over, until I reach m. home." The assembly picked up the chant, section after section got up and walked around the hall, singing with gusto, their bodies swaying to the beat, giving their cash with eagerness and song.

These meetings have been held weekly. After the June 4 meeting ended, everyone was hungry for news from Tallahassee. They were no longer alone in what Dr. King described to me as "the Negroes confidence in his own capacities: something he himself used to doubt. The idea of the MIA will spread, for the Negro has proven that he can unite and organize to gain his self-respect."

"OUR CUPS RUN OVER"

Later, in Tallahassee, I talked with Civic Council President, the Rev. C. K. Steele. He is a compact powerhouse. He drives for the car pool, handles the phone at the dispatcher's office, meets the press, negotiates, and takes care of whatever else has to be done. He told me that the protest was a "crystallization of feeling on the part of the people who are tired of being pushed around, humilitated and treated unjustly. Our cups have run over."

When the Florida A & M students left their mass meeting, 2,300 strong, and stopped the first bus May 28, the protest was afoot and spread. The boycott was a reality before the ICC came into being. The splendid discipline Rev. Steele attributes to "the long years of suffering in silence. Now the Negro feels a sense of dignity in his own worth. He's sacrificing for something meaningful. While struggling we have great sympathy for our white brothers. We feel that they too are the victims of prejudice which has degraded both the butcher and the butchered."

RANKS FORCE ISSUE

Rev. Steele related that some of those whom the white citizen considers Negro leaders were afraid that nobody would respond to the mass meetings. Some thought too much was asked, even proposing demands confined to a segregated bus system. **"It was the sentiment of the ranks as expressed in the two mass meetings, which returned the struggle on its true course. The people know better than anyone else what they want."**

Son of a retired coal miner with 40 years in West Virginia pits, Rev. Steele has come up the hard way. He stressed how this movement had given a meaning to life to the mass, who in turn have given life to this movement. Rev. Steele said there was an urgent need for four station wagons and cash.

The treasurer of the ICC is Rev. J. Metz Rollins. In his late twenties, tall and lean, he talked about the Inter-Racial Council that was proposed last week by some Negro leaders to promote better understanding between races. Rev. Rollins commented that it wouldn't work within the framework of segregation and anyway he wanted to give the tottering prejudiced set-up its final push. He observed that there was a wide gap between the elected officials of the ICC and the non-elected "leaders."

THE FIGHT AHEAD

"The old school leaders operate on the level of personal protest, little personal favors such as a few Negro cops. A happy relationship is established on the basis of a quiescent Negro. The miracle of the boycott is that it awakens feelings among ordinary Negroes; they realize that they don't have to take it anymore."

"The legal front is not enough. Anything they give you, they can also take away. Genuine victories have to come from the very bottom," said Rev. Rollins. "The May 17 decision hasn't affected my life too much. There's still a colored water fountain I have to use in the department store. The boycott reveals a willingness to pay for getting freedom."

Letter to Reader of Daily Worker

[We publish herewith a letter which appeared in the Daily Worker May 30 and a reply by Murry Weiss — Ed.]

Editor, Daily Worker:

I almost started by saying "I am not a Trotskyite, but. . ." then realized how unimportant that should be, for a thought should be examined no matter from what quarter it comes.

I think that reader N. J. (May 24) continues a harmful practice in our movement, a practive which is to a great extent not only a manifestation of, but also a reason for many of the errors and shortcomings now discussed.

Reader N. J. lumps together Trotskyites, racists, White Citizen Councils and McCarthy.

How about thinking rather than parroting old phrases? Is reader N. J. really convinced that the Trotskyites are equal to the other three groups, the worst in American life? It might interest him that the Independent Socialist "Monthly Review" (no enemy of ours, let's admit) speaks of the CP, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyites, that is) as the "four socialist parties." Perhaps it is not exactly so, but it is much closer to the truth that N. J.'s tactics.

It is this kind of irresponsible phrase-mongering, insensitive so-called "hard and smart" tactics which obscured many of the truths from us. I myself see the Trotskyites as a sectarian and rather divorced from life emotional group, but I need not continue to attack them as the worst enemies.

— B.

Weiss' Reply

Dear B.,

I should like to comment on your May 30 letter to the Daily Worker and invite you to reply, either in the columns of the Militant or in any other way.

By the time this is published every member of the Communist Party will know that the kind of accusations N. J. hurled at the Trotskyists, to which you took such vigorous exception, are a pack of lies based on the monstrous frame-ups and blood purges organized by the Stalin regime. With the publication of Khrushchev's speech, each and every lie told by the Stalinists against Trotskyism is blown sky high.

It is clear from your letter that you rejected these lies even before Khrushchev's speech became public. Like so many others in the ranks of the Communist Party you probably doubted that the Moscow Trials were anything but frame-ups, but you were told that in the interests of the defense of the Soviet Union it was necessary to remain silent.

Now you are told by Khrushchev that Stalin's crimes brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster in World War II. Ask yourself: Wasn't Trotsky right in exposing and fighting these crimes every step of the way even though he paid for it with his life at the hands of a Stalinist pick-axe assassin?

Some Stalinist spokesmen are now arguing as follows: The Trotskyists, it is true, were framed, tortured and annihilated by the thousands. This was wrong. And on the basis of the frame-ups in the Soviet Union the Communist Party in the U.S. as elsewhere slandered and framed the Trotskyists. The CP even collaborated with the FBI and the Department of Justice in pressing for the prosecution of the Trotskyists in the first Smith Act Trials in Minneapolis, 1941. All this was wrong. But, they conclude, this does not prove the Trotskyists were politically right.

OPEN STRUGGLE

Very well. We Trotskyists never asked that our position be accepted on our say so. Only bureaucrats armed with economic and material power can compel "agreement." The Marxists have always relied on the open struggle of tendencies within the labor movement and the test of events to prove the correctness of their position.

But it is precisely the open struggle of political tendencies that was prevented by the Stalinist bureaucracy. That was the function of the frame-up and the blood purge: to silence the opposition and outlaw its ideas. Have the members of the Communist Party ever had the opportunity to seriously study the basic position of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky in the Soviet Union? Can you, Comrade B., honestly say that you have read the works of the Trotskyist movement and formed your judgement on that basis?

GERMAN EXPERIENCE

I remember my own experience with Trotskyism as a member of the Young Communist League in 1932. The great issue before the world Communist movement at that time was the threat of Hitler taking power in Germany. I became aquainted with Trotsky's struggle for a united front of action between the German Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party through the Militant, which was distributed at a Union Square demonstration. After studying Trotsky's pamphlet, Germany: What Next?, I became convinced that his position was correct and of vital importance to the international Communist movement.

As against Trotsky's proposal that the German Communist Party launch a struggle for the united front of action with the Social Democratic Party and thus block Hitler's road to power, Stalin's theory of "social fascism" and "united front from below" was promulgated by the CP. Stalin's theory declared that "fascism and Social Democracy were twins" and that as a matter of fact the Social Democrats were the main danger in Germany. This seemed to me to be sheer insanity that would surely lead to the ruin of the German revolution. You must remember that in those days we young Communists lived in the hope that Germany would accomplish the socialist revolution and break the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union.

I attempted to bring my convictions to my comrades in the youth movement and as a result was ordered to either submit a statement condemning Trotsky as a counter-revolutionist or be expelled. I refused to write such a statement and was expelled.

The important thing, however is that the Stalinists never allowed a free discussion of Trotsky's proposal for applying the Leninist tactic of the united front in Germany. The ideas of the opposition were proscribed as representing the "vanguard of world counter-revolution." No discussion was permitted. Stalin's ruinous policy remained in effect.

In the light of this single tragic episode in the history of the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism, I wonder how you can lightly dismiss the Trotskyists as "sectarian and rather divorced from life." Wouldn't it be more in order to study the respective positions of Stalinism and Trotskyism in such an event as the defeat of the German working class by Hitler? And isn't such a study particularly necessary in view of the fact that to this day the Stalinists have never offered any kind of serious explanation for the German debacle. Can anyone today say that Trotsky was wrong as against Stalin on the crucial question of Germany? And didn't the policy of Stalin lead to a cataclysmic defeat which opened the way for World War II?

REVIEW THE HISTORY

I cite the German question only as an example. It seems to me that it is the duty of all serious revolutionists to review, this time with Trotsky's works before them, the historic struggle that split the world communist movement and trace this struggle through the test of major world events since then.

In his speech, Khrushchev admits that many crimes were committed against the Trotskyists. But he asserts that Trotskyism was politically wrong and was defeated by ideological means before Stalin's terror began. This is a falsehood from beginning to end as can be proven by irrefutable documented evidence. **From the very beginning Stalin waged the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition with the methods of bureaucratic terror, frame-ups and amalgams. The Left Opposition was defeated, not by ideological struggle but by the rise of a privileged bureaucratic caste riding the wave of reaction to the October revolution and profiting from the demoralization brought by the early defeats of the revolution in Europe and Asia.**

Khrushchev wants the rank-and-file Communist workers to take his word for the fact that Trotskyism was politically wrong Why should the workers believe Khrushchev? Yesterday he said the Trotskyists were spies and traitors, agents of Hitler and the Mikado, or when diplomatic expediency required, they were agents of British and American imperialism. Today he admits all this was false and that thousands were murdered in the name of this falsehood. Why accept Khrushchev's version of Trotskyism today? Isn't it better to take the advice of Lenin who said:

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."

— Murry Weiss

...Text of Khrushchev's Speech

(Continued from page 6)

cerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work.

It is necessary for this purpose:

First, in a Bolshevik manner to condemn and to eradicate the cult of the individual as alien to Marxism-Leninism and not consonant with the principles of party leadership and the norms of party life, and to fight inexorably all attempts at bringing back this practice in one form or another.

To return to and actually practice in all our ideological work the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist science about the people as the creator of history and as the creator of all material and spiritual good of humanity, about the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary fight for the transformation of society, about the victory of communism.

In this connection we will be forced to do much work to examine critically from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and to correct the widely spread erroneous views connected with the cult of the individual in the sphere of history, philosophy, economy and of other sciences, as well as in the literature and the fine arts. It is especially necessary that in the immediate future we compile a serious textbook of the history of our party which will be edited in accordance with scientific Marxist objectivism, a textbook of the history of Soviet society, a book pertaining to the events of the civil war and the great patriotic war.

LENINIST PRINCIPLES HAILED

Secondly, to continue systematically and consistently the work done by the party's Central Committee during the last years, a work characterized by minute observation in all party organizations, from the bottom to the top, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, characterized, above all, by the main principle of collective leadership, characterized by the observation of the norms of party life described in the statutes of our party, and finally, characterized by the wide practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Thirdly, to restore completely the Leninist principles of Soviet Socialist democracy, expressed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fight willfulness of individuals abusing their power. The evil caused by acts violating revolutionary Socialist legality which have accumulated during a long time as a result of the negative influence of the cult of the individual has to be completely corrected.

Comrades! The twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has manifested with a new strength the unshakable unity of our party, its cohesiveness around the Central Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of building communism. (Tumultuous applause.) And the fact that we present in all their ramifications the basic problems of overcoming the cult of the individual which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, as well as the problem of liquidating its burdensome consequences, is an evidence of the great moral and political strength of our Party. (Prolonged applause.)

We are absolutely certain that our party, armed with the historical resolutions of the twentieth congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new successes, to new victories. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

Long live the victorious banner of our party—Leninism! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause ending in ovation. All rise.)

NEXT WEEK

In The Militant

"Stalinism and Bolshevism"

By Leon Trotsky

Brooklyn Public Meeting

"Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections"

Hear

FARRELL DOBBS — Socialist Workers Party Presidential Candidate

W. E. B. DU BOIS — Distinguished Scholar and Educator

DAVID GOLDWAY — Exec. Sec. of the Jefferson School

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY — Former ALP Candidate for Governor and Mayor

Sunday, June 24 - 8 P. M.

Sunrise Manor
1638 Pitkin Avenue
Donation 50c.
Auspices:
Brooklyn Compass Club

Los Angeles Public Meeting

"The Algerian Struggle for Freedom and the Crisis in France"

Speaker: David Dreiser

Fri., June 22 - 8:15 P.M.

1702 East Fourth Street

Discussion Refreshments